Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2025

https://archive.org/details/bwb_T3-BOG-919

SIX AGES OF EUROPEAN HISTORY

FROM A.D. 476 TO 1878

IN SIX VOLUMES

GENERAL EDITOR: A. H. JOHNSON, M.A.

FELLOW OF ALL SOULS' COLLEGE, OXFORD

VOLUME I

THE DAWN OF MEDIÆVAL EUROPE

476-918

FOR THE HIGHER FORMS OF SCHOOLS

SIX AGES OF EUROPEAN HISTORY

FROM A.D. 476 TO 1878

IN SIX VOLUMES

EDITED BY A. H. JOHNSON, M.A.
Fellow of All Souls' College, Oxford

VOL. I. THE DAWN OF MEDIÆVAL EUROPE. 476-918. By the Rev. J. H. B. MASTERMAN, M.A., Professor of History in the University of Birmingham.

VOL. II. THE CENTRAL PERIOD OF THE MIDDLE AGE. 918-1273. By BEATRICE A. LEES, Resident History Tutor, Somerville College, Oxford.

VOL. III. THE END OF THE MIDDLE AGE. 1273-1453. By ELEANOR C. LODGE, Vice-Principal and Modern History Tutor, Lady Margaret Hall, Oxford.

VOL. IV. EUROPE IN RENAISSANCE AND REFORMATION. 1453-1660. By MARY A. HOLLINGS, M.A., Dublin, Headmistress of Edgbaston Church of England College for Girls.

VOL. V. THE AGE OF THE ENLIGHTENED DESPOT. 1660-1789. By A. H. JOHNSON, M.A., Fellow of All Souls' College, Oxford.

VOL. VI. THE REMAKING OF MODERN EUROPE. 1789-1878. By J. A. R. MARRIOTT, M.A., Lecturer and Tutor in Modern History and Economics at Worcester College, Oxford.

WESTERN PROVINCES OF THE EMPIRE IN THE IV CENTURY

LIBRARY 4590

THE DAWN OF MEDIÆVAL EUROPE

476-918

BY

J. HOWARD B. MASTERMAN

PROFESSOR OF HISTORY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF BIRMINGHAM

WITH TWELVE MAPS

NEW YORK

THE MACMILLAN COMPANY

1910

CONTENTS

CHAP.		PAGE
	Chronological Table	xi
	Bibliography	xv
I.	Introduction	1
II.	The Empire in 476	8
III.	The Rise of Theodoric	16
IV.	The Gothic Kingdom in Italy	25
V.	The Rise of the Franks	39
VI.	Justinian	54
VII.	Benedict of Nursia and Columban	65
VIII.	The Rise of Mohammedanism	73
IX.	The Lombards in Italy and the Rise of the Papacy	81
X.	The Mayors of the Palace	95
XI.	Charles Martel	104
XII.	Pippin, King of the Franks	113
XIII.	The Pope, the Lombards and the Franks	120
XIV.	The Iconoclastic Emperors	133
XV.	Charles the Great and the Lombard Kingdom	145
XVI.	The Saxon Wars	154
XVII.	Charles, King of the Franks	160
XVIII.	Carolus Imperator	171

CHAP. PAGE

XIX. Law and Administration in the Empire . . . 185

XX. Alcuin and the Revival of Learning. John Scotus 191

XXI. The Charlemagne of Romance 200

XXII. The Reign of Louis the Pious 204

XXIII. The Break-up of the Carolingian Empire . . 212

XXIV. The Norsemen, the Saracens and the Magyars . 226

XXV. The Dark Ages 237

XXVI. Some Chroniclers of the Period 241

Appendix 247

Index 249

GENEALOGICAL TABLES

The Family of Theodoric 24

Early Merovingians 43

The Arnulfing House 97

The Carolingian Dynasty 205

LIST OF MAPS

	PAGE
The Western Provinces of the Empire	*Frontispiece*
Europe, 476 A.D.	9
Gaul in 500 A.D.	41
Italy in the Seventh Century	83
The Empire in the Eighth Century	135
Italy, 768-813	151
Europe in the Time of Charles the Great	173
The Lower Rhine	183
Partition of Verdun	214
Margravates of Northern Italy	223
Western Europe in 900 A.D.	225
Northern France	232

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

(Events of English history printed in Italics.)

476. Deposition of Romulus Augustulus.
Odoacer becomes King of Italy.
481. Accession of Clovis as King of the Franks.
489. Theodoric invades Italy.
493. Fall of Ravenna and death of Odoacer.
495. *Cerdic founds kingdom of Wessex.*
496. Baptism of Clovis after victory over Alemanni at Tolbiac.
511. Death of Clovis.
526. Death of Theodoric.
528. Accession of Justinian.
533. Conquest of North Africa by Belisarius.
536. Capture of Rome by Belisarius.
543. Death of Benedict of Nursia.
547. *Ida founds kingdom of Northumbria.*
553. Departure of the Goths from Italy.
565. Death of Justinian.
Mission of Columba to Iona.
568. Lombards, under Alboin, migrate into Italy.
581. Accession of Heraclius as Emperor.
590. Gregory the Great becomes Pope.
597. *Mission of Augustine to England.*
614. Death of Brunhilda.
622. The flight (*Heriga*) of Mohammed.
626. Siege of Constantinople by the Persians.
633. *Edwin of Northumbria slain by Penda of Mercia.*
634. Battle of Yermuk—Conquest of Syria by the Moslems.
637. Surrender of Jerusalem to Omar.

639. Death of Pippin of Landen.
640. Saracen conquest of Egypt.
656. Unsuccessful attempt of Grimoald to depose the Merovingian King.
688. Pippin of Heristal becomes Mayor of Austrasia.
711. Battle of Guadelete—Saracen conquest of Spain.
715. Death of Pippin.
717. Accession of Leo the Isaurian as Emperor.
Charles Martel becomes Mayor of Austrasia and Neustria.
718. Saracen siege of Constantinople.
720. Beginning of missionary labours of Boniface.
726. Iconoclastic edict—Resistance of Gregory II.
727. Conquest of Exarchate by Liutprand.
732. Victory of Charles Martel over Saracens at Poictiers.
735. *Death of the Venerable Bede in Northumbria.*
741. Death of Charles Martel—Pippin and Carloman, Mayors.
747. Abdication of Carloman after Alemannian campaign.
752. Pippin becomes King of the Franks.
754. Pippin's campaign against Aistulf.
Death of Boniface.
755. *Accession of Offa as King of Mercia.*
767. Frank conquest of Aquetaine.
768. Death of Pippin—Accession of Charles and Carloman.
773. Invasion of Lombardy by Charles.
774. First visit of Charles to Rome.
Fall of Pavia and end of Lombard kingdom.
775. First Saxon campaign.
778. Spanish campaign, and death of Roland at Roncesvalles.
782. Alcuin joins the Court of Charles.
787. *First appearance of the Northmen in England.*
788. Fall of Tassilo—Annexation of Bavaria by Charles.
790. Avar campaign.
794. *Death of Offa of Mercia.*
795. Death of Pope Hadrian I.—Leo III. succeeds.
Norse invasions of Ireland begin.
797. Irene dethrones Constantine.
799. First appearance of Northmen in Francia.
800. Coronation of Charles as Emperor.
802. Deposition of Irene.
814. Death of Charles the Great.

822. Birth of Charles the Bald.
827. *Egbert overlord of all England.*
829. First Civil War in Francia.
833. The Lügenfeld (Field of Lies)—Louis the Pious deposed and restored.
840. Death of Louis the Pious.
841. Battle of Fontenay.
843. Oath of Strasburg and Partition of Verdun.
845. Sack of Paris by Northmen.
847. Sack of Bordeaux by Northmen.
849. Victory of Leo over Saracens at Ostia.
871. *Accession of Alfred in England.*
872. Victory of Louis over Saracens at Salerno.
876. Death of Louis the German.
877. Death of Charles the Bald.
878. *Peace of Wedmore between Alfred and the Danes.*
884. Empire reunited under Charles the Fat.
886. Siege of Paris by Northmen.
887. Deposition of Charles the Fat—Final break-up of Empire.
888. Odo becomes King of West Francia, Arnulf of Germany, Berengar of Italy, Rudolph of Upper Burgundy.
896. First appearance of Magyars in the West.
899. Death of Arnulf.
Charles the Simple, King of West Francia.
900. Berengar sole King of Italy.
901. *Death of Alfred—Edward the Elder succeeds.*
911. Death of Louis the Child—Conrad elected as King.
Treaty of Claire-sur-Epte between Charles the Simple and the Northmen.
918. Death of Conrad—Henry the Fowler, Duke of Saxony, elected King.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

(For some account of the chief original authorities see pp. 241-6.)

Students of the period should, if possible, read Einhard's *Life of Charles the Great* and the latter part of Gregory of Tours.

Text-books for the Period—

Church: *The Beginning of the Middle Ages.*
Oman: *The Dark Ages.*
Lavisse and Rambaud: *Histoire Générale*, vol. i.

The Eastern Empire—

For Beginners:—

Oman: *The Byzantine Empire* ("Story of the Nations" Series).
Freeman: *The Byzantine Empire* in "Historical Essays," First Series.

For more Advanced Students:—

Gibbon: *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire.*
Bury: *History of the Later Roman Empire.*
Finlay: *History of Greece.*

Church History—

For Beginners :—

Milman : *History of Latin Christianity.*

For more Advanced Students :—

Duchesne : *Les Prêmiers temps de l'Etat Pontifical.*
Hefele : *History of Councils.*
Montalembert : *Monks of the West.*
Dudden : *Gregory the Great—His Place in History and Thought.*
Henderson : *Select Historical Documents of the Middle Ages* (for the Rule of St. Benedict).
Gregorovius : *Geschichte der Stadt Rom im Mittelalter* (of which there is an English translation).

The History of the Gothic kingdom in Italy—

For Beginners :—

Hodgkin : *Theodoric* ("Heroes of the Nations" Series).
Bradley : *The Goths* ("Story of the Nations" Series).
Freeman : *The Goths at Ravenna* in "Historical Essays," Third Series.

For more Advanced Students :—

Hodgkin : *Italy and Her Invaders*, vols. i.-iv.
Article on *Theodoric* in the "Dictionary of Christian Biography".

The Lombards—

Hodgkin : *Italy and Her Invaders*, vols. v.-vi.

The Franks—

For Beginners :—

Sargeant : *The Franks* ("Story of the Nations" Series).
Freeman : *The Franks and the Gauls* in "Historical Essays," First Series.

For more Advanced Students :—

Kitchin : *History of France.*
Freeman : *Western Europe in the Fifth Century.*
„ *Western Europe in the Eighth Century.*
Kurth : *Histoire de Clovis.*

The Empire of Charles the Great—

For Beginners :—

Grant : *Early Lives of Charlemagne* (translation of Einhard and the Monk of St. Gall).
Hodgkin : *Charles the Great* (" Foreign Statesmen " Series).
Davis : *Charlemagne* (" Heroes of the Nations " Series).
Bryce : *Holy Roman Empire.*

For more Advanced Students :—

Hodgkin : *Italy and Her Invaders*, vols. vii.-viii.
Kleinclausz : *L'Empire Carolingien, Ses Origines et Ses Transformations.*
Guizot : *History of Civilisation.*
Jahrbücher des deutschen Reiches.
Mühlbacher : *Deutsche Geschichte unter den Karolingern.*
Mullinger : *Schools of Charles the Great.*
Browne : *Alcuin of York.*

The Northmen—

For Beginners :—

Johnson : *The Normans in Europe.*
Freeman : *The Early Sieges of Paris* in " Historical Essays," First Series.

For more Advanced Students : —

Palgrave : *History of England and Normandy.*
Freeman : *The Norman Conquest.*
Steenstrup : *Introduction à l'Histoire des Normands et de leurs Invasions.*

THE DAWN OF MEDIÆVAL EUROPE

476-918

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

THE period that we call the Middle Ages extends from the break-up of the Roman Empire in the west in the fifth century to the Renaissance in the fifteenth—a period of about a thousand years. The night of this great day of human history may be said to last through the first three hundred years (450-750), and the early dawn begins with the events that lead to the establishment of the Empire of Charles the Great. The eleventh and twelfth centuries are the morning, and the thirteenth the high noon, from which it declines to the afternoon of the fourteenth century and the evening of the fifteenth.

The Empire

The Europe of the fifth century was dominated by two influences—the influence of Roman Imperialism and that of the Christian Church. Though the Empire fell to pieces in the west it lived on in the east, gradually changing its character, but retaining in its laws and ideals of government the traditions of the Imperial organisation that Augustus had founded and Diocletian

remodelled on a more despotic basis. It is a great mistake to underestimate the influence of the Eastern Empire on Western Europe. Constantinople was not only the frontier fortress of Europe in the East, it was also the home of Roman law and of a civilisation that had become Greek in its outer dress, but remained largely Roman in its inner character.

Influence on the Teutonic peoples

But the inheritance of Rome passed on to the new world through two other channels. The Teutonic peoples who poured into the almost depopulated provinces of the west came under the spell of Rome. They marched along the roads that Rome had made, they passed, as friends or foes, by cities that Rome had built. The ambition of their greatest leaders—of men like Alaric or Theodoric—was not to destroy but to rebuild the Roman world of ordered rule and equal justice. In Gaul and in Italy the language and ideas of Rome turned the Frank and Lombard conquerors into Frenchmen and Italians.

Rise of the Papacy

Meanwhile Imperial Rome became Papal Rome. When the long centuries of contest between the Church and the Empire closed with the accession of Constantine, the result was not only that the Empire became Christian, but also that the Church became Imperial. Soon after, the transference of the Imperial Court to Constantinople left the Bishop of Rome incomparably the greatest figure in the city by the Tiber. And as Christianity spread through Western Europe the authority of the Roman See grew constantly wider. So when the bond of a common political organisation no longer held Western Europe together, the bond

of a common religious organisation began to take its place. As inheritor of the Imperial tradition, the Papacy became not only a religious but also a political power.

The claims of the Roman See were at first resented by the Teutonic peoples, who had adopted the Arian form of Christianity from the earliest missionaries who had laboured among them. But the conversion of Clovis to Catholic Christianity in 496 marked the beginning of the extension of Papal authority over the Teutonic tribes, and the labours of Augustine and his successors in England in the seventh century, and of the great missionary Archbishop Boniface in Germany in the eighth, insured the supremacy of the Pope in the West. Of the Teutonic peoples that remained Arian, the Ostrogoths vanished from history, and the Vandals and Visigoths fell under the sway of the Moslems, the latter soon after they had abandoned the Arian for the Catholic Creed.

In the East the claims of the Papacy were resisted, not only by the Patriarch of Constantinople, who as Bishop of New Rome claimed to be the equal of the Bishop of Old Rome, but also by the emperors, who asserted their right to exercise over the Church the same autocratic authority that they exercised over the State. The Eastern and Western Churches drifted apart, and before the end of the ninth century the separation was almost complete.

Teutonic ideas

The Teutonic invaders brought their own contribution to the life of the Middle Ages. The idea of personal liberty that appears in early Teutonic law, the practice of

commendation and the authority of the chief over his *comites*, the institutions of elective monarchy and of the assemblies of free warriors, exercised a profound influence over the new world that was shaping itself out of the fragments of the old.

The reign of Theodoric was the first attempt to harmonise the old and the new, to blend the Roman ideals of order and *civilitas* with the Teutonic spirit of freedom. The Arianism of the Goths and the opposition of a party among the Roman nobles made the task a difficult one, and with the death of Theodoric and the revival of the Empire under Justinian, the Gothic kingdom crumbled away.

But the Empire, confronted by new dangers in the East, first from the aggressions of the Persian kings and then from the rise of Mohammedanism, could not keep what it had won. Thirteen years before Heraclius arose to save the Empire, the Lombards had inherited the lands that the Goths had abandoned.

The Lombards, contented to rule and extend their territories without any effort to assimilate the native population, remained an aristocracy of nobles settled among a subject people. If the Lombard kings could have conquered Rome, as they conquered Ravenna, they might have been able to build up an Italian kingdom through the fusion of Roman and Teutonic institutions and ideas. But the Lombards produced no great leader with enough of the statesman in him to attempt the task in which Theodoric had failed. Perhaps in any case it would have proved impossible, for by the middle of the eighth century Italy was no longer free to shape

her own destiny to supremacy. The central fact of the eighth century was the rise of the Franks in Western Europe, under the great Mayors of the Palace. The victory of Charles Martel, at Poictiers in 732, rescued the West from the danger of Moslem rule, and the alliance of King Pippin with the Pope in 752 associated the fortunes of the Teutonic world of the north with those of Rome. The Rhine and the Tiber were linked together, and the Rhone and the Po passed under their sway.

Rise of the Franks

At last, just as the eighth century ended, the three influences that had been making the new Europe converged, when Charles the Great, as Emperor of the West, became representative in his own person of the union of Roman, Ecclesiastical and Teutonic ideas. The coronation of Charles was the recognition of the fact that the same man was now the head of the Christian Church, the inheritor of the Roman Imperial dignity and the master of the Teutonic world.

But the Empire of Charles the Great had in it the seeds of dissolution. Its strength lay in its Teutonic military organisation, and as this was founded on the idea of personal service it broke down with the revival of local feeling. It had the unity of a common ecclesiastical organisation, but the attempt to establish a common administrative system failed through the tribal and local antagonisms that awoke as soon as the great Emperor was dead. The Frankish judicial system, by which every man was judged by the law of his own nation, prevented the development of a common code of law for the Empire. For a time, in the middle of the

Decay of Carolingian Empire

tenth century, the Holy Roman Empire of Otho the Great seemed destined to realise part at least of the ideal of the Carolingian Empire, but the long struggles of the Papacy with the Empire, and the resistance of the feudal nobility to the autocratic claims of the kings, supported by Roman civil law, ended at last in the disintegration of the mediæval world.

Disintegration of ninth century

But it was not only from within that the Empire of Charles was weakened. Enemies from without beset it on every side. Northmen, Magyars, Saracens, fell upon it with eager ferocity, and in the ninth century, as in the sixth, the Teutonic system of equal division of inheritance proved fatal to all hope of united resistance. But the partitions of the ninth century differ from those of the sixth in this, that they represent lines of division destined to become permanent. The Romanised West was severed from the more German East. Italy fell away from the North; Aquetaine and Burgundy became, for a time, partly or wholly independent. The ninth century was a period of confusion and of immeasurable suffering, but through the anarchy of the time the political life of Europe began to shape itself into the form that it was destined to retain to the end of the Middle Ages. Serfdom superseded the older relation of the free villagers to their overlord; the military system of Europe began to be territorial instead of personal; great fiefs grew up under dukes and counts almost entirely independent of royal authority; and feudal castles rose on every hill on the banks of the Rhine and the Seine.

In this rough age the Church was obliged to fight

for its own possessions and privileges, and while its political power increased its religious enthusiasm declined; learning was kept alive, but could make no progress in days of distraction and danger; the religion of the people was strangely compounded of superstition and fear.

Revival in tenth century

As the century drew near its end the clouds began to lift. The Byzantine Empire weathered the storm of Moslem attack. With narrowed frontiers, hemmed in by Slavs and Saracens, it lived on as a civilising power in the east. In the west also the tide of Saracen conquest began to turn, and Southern Italy and Northorn Spain were recovered from their rule. The Northmen, established in the north of England and in the valley of the Seine, were no longer mere agents of destruction; a little later they began to rebuild the churches that they had destroyed and re-establish the order that they had disturbed. Along the eastern frontiers of the Empire the raids of the Magyars began to be checked.

In 918 the election of Henry Duke of Saxony to the throne of Germany brought the period of disintegration in central Europe to an end, while the rise of the family of Robert the Strong to power in West Franchia gave promise of the development of a new France, with Paris as its capital. Another century was destined to pass before the forces of disorder and disintegration were for a time worsted, but by the opening of the tenth century the old Europe—the Europe of Zeno and Theodoric and Clovis—had dissolved, and the new Europe—the Europe of Otho the Great and Hildebrand and Barbarossa—had begun.

CHAPTER II

THE EMPIRE IN 476

The Empire and the Teutons

IN the year 476 the last Emperor in the west was deposed, and the Roman provinces in the west became independent Teutonic kingdoms. The deposition of Romulus Augustulus marks the end of a process of change that had been going on for nearly three centuries. At the end of the second century the northern boundaries of the Empire were the Rhine and the Danube. Beyond these rivers lived various Teutonic tribes with whom the Roman Emperors carried on a desultory war, not now for the extension of the frontiers, but to keep back the barbarians from penetrating into the Empire. The last Emperor who extended the northern frontier of the Empire was Trajan, who at the beginning of the second century established the province of Dacia north of the Danube. Under his successors, Hadrian and Antoninus Pius, the Empire enjoyed nearly half a century of peace and good government. But in the reign of Marcus Aurelius (161-180) a change began. The Teutonic peoples had already begun to find their way into the Empire, at first as slaves in Roman households, or as serfs cultivating frontier lands, and a little later as soldiers in the Roman armies. They now tried to break through the frontiers,

EUROPE 476 A.D.

B.V. Barbisture, Oxford, 1909

not in isolated companies but in organised tribes, and Marcus Aurelius was the first of a long series of emperors who were obliged to carry on a constant defensive war to hold back tribes of barbarians that were being driven from behind on to the Roman frontiers. In the course of this long contest the barbarians absorbed a good deal of the civilisation and culture of Rome. Many of them enrolled themselves under the standard of the Empire, and did loyal service against their fellow-Teutons across the borders.

In the year 330 Constantine, the first Christian Emperor, established a new capital at Byzantium, which he called after his own name, Constantinople. From this time there were generally two emperors, one ruling in the East and the other in the West.

The Goths

The earliest barbarians to gain a foothold in the Empire were the Goths. Early in the third century they appeared in the south of Russia, having migrated from the north-west of Europe. They gradually fell into two tribes, the Eastern, or Ostrogoths, and the Western, or Visigoths. About the year 250 they began to move southward and westward, and came into contact with the Empire. Twenty years later a body of them settled in the Roman province of Dacia, and inflicted a great defeat on the Emperor Decius, who perished in the battle. The Emperor Aurelian, in the year 270, made peace with them, allowing them to retain Dacia. For nearly a century after this the Goths remained at peace with the Empire. During this time they learned the art of writing, and were converted to the Arian form of Christianity by the efforts of the great missionary

bishop Ulfilas. The fact that most of the Teutonic tribes adopted Arianism [1] is important because it imposed a barrier of separation between them and the Roman peoples, who were orthodox.

In the year 376 the Visigoths of Dacia were attacked by a vast horde of Huns from Central Asia, and after vainly trying to withstand them, they petitioned the Emperor for leave to cross the Danube and settle in the Empire. Valens allowed them to do so, but his impolitic treatment of them led to hostilities, and to his defeat and death at the battle of Adrianople in 378. His successor, Theodosius, made peace with them, but after his death they began to ravage the Empire, and finally, under their great king, Alaric, they poured into Italy, besieged and sacked Rome, and then, after the death of Alaric, settled in Southern Gaul, where a body of Ostrogoths joined them in 473. They gradually extended their conquests into Spain, whence they drove out another Teutonic tribe, the Vandals.

The Vandals

The Vandals had for a long time been one of the leading tribes of Germany. They had been driven South by the Goths about the year 330 and had settled in Pannonia. About the year 400 they had marched with allies of Alan and Suevic race into Gaul, and thence, driven perhaps by the Franks, into Spain. When the Visigoths began to advance into Spain the Vandals,

[1] Arius was a priest of Alexandria, who early in the fourth century taught certain doctrines about the Person of our Lord that were declared at the Council of Nicæa, in 325, to be erroneous. He and all who agreed with him were excommunicated, and after a struggle of nearly a century, in which Athanasius was the chief leader of the orthodox party, the Empire declared for the Nicene view.

invited by a treacherous Roman governor, crossed to North Africa, where, under their king, Genseric (or Gaiseric), they ravaged the whole province with merciless cruelty. After the capture of Carthage, in 439, the Vandals established themselves as the ruling race, and as they were Arians they persecuted the Roman Christians of North Africa. Under Genseric they also became the pirate-masters of the Mediterranean, and ravaged the coasts of Italy, even sacking Rome itself in 455.

The Burgundians

Another Teutonic kingdom set up at this time was that of the Burgundians, who under their king, Gundobad, established themselves in the valleys of the Rhone and Saone about the year 443.

The Franks

Farther North, on the banks of the Rhine, lay the kingdom of the Franks, the latest of the great Teutonic peoples to enter the Empire. Between these two Teutonic kingdoms lay a semi-independent Roman province with its capital at Soissons, ruled over by a Roman general, Ægidius. On his death, in 464, his son Syagrius succeeded.

Italy

Italy had been, ever since 410, the spoil of contending chieftains, who set up and deposed puppet emperors as they pleased. The last of these puppet emperors, a boy of about fourteen, was ruling in Rome in 476, under the protection of his father, Orestes. In this year a dispute between Orestes and his barbarian followers about the allocation of lands led to a revolt, and the soldiers elected a Herule officer, Odoacer (or Odovakar), as their chief. Orestes took refuge in Pavia but was soon captured and beheaded. His little son

who fell into the hands of Odoacer, was spared by the conqueror, and allowed to retire to a palace near Naples with a large pension for his maintenance. Of him we hear no more.

The year that followed the accession of Odoacer was marked by two events of importance. The first of these was the death of the old pirate chief Genseric the Vandal. With him passed away the greatness of the Vandal kingdom, which declined steadily for half a century, till it fell once more under the sway of the Empire. The other event was the arrival at Constantinople of an embassy from the Senate of Rome, who came to inform Zeno, the Emperor now ruling in the East, that "they did not need a separate Emperor, but that Zeno himself as sole Emperor would suffice for both ends of the earth; that Odoacer, a prudent statesman and brave warrior, had been chosen to defend their interests, and that they requested Zeno to bestow on him the dignity of Patrician and entrust to his care the Diocese of Italy".

To this request Zeno assented and Odoacer, already virtually the independent sovereign of Italy, now became, in name, the Imperial viceroy in the "Diocese of Italy". But though the actual authority exercised by the Emperor was little more than nominal, it would be a mistake to suppose that the Empire in the West was regarded as ended. The idea of the Roman Empire had taken such hold of the imaginations of men that it was not regarded as possible that it could end. It lived on as an idea through centuries of contest and confusion, till the time came for an attempt to be made,

by the coronation of Charles the Great, to give the idea once more an outward expression.

The Empire in the East

The mention of Zeno takes us from the Western Empire to the east. While the Empire in the west had been slowly crumbling into a group of independent Teutonic kingdoms, the Empire in the east had been successfully resisting the assaults of the barbarians. The great city of Constantinople was impregnable to assault on the land side, and could not be successfully starved into surrender while the Empire retained the command of the sea. The great enemy of the Empire in the east had been the Persian Empire, but in the fifth century Persia was not able to do more than carry on a frontier war at intervals. Though the Empire had lost its western provinces, the wealth of the provinces of what we now call Asia Minor furnished the emperors with adequate resources till they became impoverished by maladministration and war.

In the middle of the fifth century a barbarian adventurer, Aspar, occupied at Constantinople a position not unlike that of Orestes or Odoacer in Italy. In 457 he raised Leo, an Isaurian[1] official of the Court, to the Imperial throne. Leo repaid his benefactor by procuring his assassination a few years later. On Leo's death, in 474, he was succeeded by his son-in-law and fellow-countryman Tarasicodissa, who adopted the name of Zeno.

Reign of Zeno, 474-91

Like our English Ethelred the Unready, Zeno is credited with adopting the cowardly policy of buying

[1] Isauria is the mountainous district on the north of Mount Taurus between Cilicia and Phrygia.

ff the enemies of the Empire. Though he seems to ave been rather repulsive in personal character, he as not without ability as a ruler. He had constantly o contend with attempts to set rival claimants on the hrone, but, partly by good luck and partly by the nscrupulous cunning and cruelty that became from his time a characteristic of the Eastern Court, he ucceeded in retaining the throne till his death in 491.

The history of Constantinople during this period is hiefly the record of religious controversies, in which he people of the city took sides with great vigour. The two chief factions in the city, adopting the colours f the Circus races, called themselves the "blues" and he "greens"—the former being the champions of rthodoxy, the latter of the Monophysite[1] heresy.

Under Anastasius, who succeeded on the death of Zeno, these factions became more aggressive, while a ar with Persia, and inroads of Slavs and Bulgarians om across the Danube, disturbed the peace of the Empire.

[1] The Monophysites held that Our Lord had only one *nature*, the human ature being absorbed in the Divine.

CHAPTER III

THE RISE OF THEODORIC

THE Ostrogoths, who had remained in the distric north of the Black Sea, while their Visigothi brethren moved southwards, fell in the fifth centur under the yoke of the Huns, whom they served fo eighty years, till the death of the great Hunnish chie Attila in 454. Then they rose in rebellion, in allianc with the Gepidæ and other subject nations, and broke th power of the Huns in a great battle on the banks of th river Netad (probably in Hungary, the situation is nc known). Moving southwards, they occupied the prc vince of Pannonia, apparently by friendly arrangemen with the Roman autho ities.

Birth of Theodoric

The Ostrogoths were at this time ruled by thre brothers, descendants of the old Amal family, Walami Theudemir and Widemir. In 454, on the very da on which Walamir repulsed a sudden attack of the Hur and gained a great victory, a son was born to his brothe Theudemir, and named Theuda-reiks, the "ruler of th people"—a name changed by the Roman chroniclers t Theodoric.

Theodoric at Constantinople

When Theodoric was seven years old a war brok out between the Goths and the Empire, owing to a attempt of the Emperor to withhold the usual subsidie

After the Goths had ravaged Mœsia the Emperor agreed to renew the tribute on condition that the Goths confined their ravages to the lands north of the Danube. Theudemir was obliged to surrender his little son as a hostage for the fulfilment of the treaty, and so it came to pass that Theodoric spent ten years at the Court of Constantinople, where the Emperor Leo became warmly attached to him.

It is impossible to exaggerate the influence on Theodoric's life of this long residence at the Imperial Court. To realise it we must imagine the son of an Indian frontier chief living from the age of seven to seventeen at the British Court, watching the administration of justice, the organisation of war and commerce, the whole system of British life.

At the time of Theodoric's stay there, Constantinople was at the height of its splendour—the most magnificent city of the world. There Theodoric could see men of every nation of the earth, bound together by subjection to the majestic Roman law, laying aside their turbulent independence in the realisation of a common citizenship. It was at Constantinople that Theodoric learnt those lessons of the value of orderly rule and legal right that he afterwards strove so hard to teach to his Italian subjects.

When, at the end of ten years, Theodoric came home, he found the Goths at war with the neighbouring nation of the Suevi, on whom they inflicted a crushing defeat about the year 470. Theodoric celebrated his return by leading an expedition against the Sarmatians, from whose king, Babai, he wrested the city of Singidunum

Theodoric returns to the Goths

(Belgrade), which lies at the junction of the Save and the Danube.

A tribe like the Goths, who subsisted largely on plunder, and whose Pannonian camping-ground was probably exhausted of supplies, could not remain for long at peace. "From the diminution of the spoils of the neighbouring nations," says Jordanes, the historian of the Goths, "the Goths began to lack food and clothing, and to those men to whom war had long furnished all their sustenance peace began to be odious, and all the Goths with loud shouts approached their king, Theudemir, praying him to lead his army whither he would, but to lead it forth to war."

The Gothic host divided into two armies, one of which followed Widemir westwards to attack Rome, while the other marched south under Theudemir and Theodoric to ravage Macedonia. Of Widemir's expedition little need be said. He died in Italy without achieving any important success, and his son led his host into Gaul, where it was absorbed in the Visigothic kingdom of Southern Gaul.

Meanwhile Theudemir plundered Macedonia and laid siege to Thessalonica. Peace was then made with Constantinople, the Goths being allowed to settle in six towns of Macedonia and the country around them. Such an arrangement could not last long. Crowded into a little corner of Macedonia, the Goths would be certain to resume, before long, their habits of wandering and plunder.

About 474 Theudemir died, and his son succeeded as King of the Ostrogoths. Soon after, Theodoric's friend,

LIBRARY 459C

the Emperor Leo, died at Constantinople, and was succeeded by his little grandchild Leo, whose death a few months later left Zeno the Isaurian as sole Emperor.

Theodoric, son of Triarius

The history of the next fourteen years of the life of Theodoric is complicated by the presence on the scene of another Theodoric, a Gothic chief related by marriage with the barbarian Aspar who had for years played the part of king-maker at Constantinople, till his murder by Leo in 471. This Theodoric, son of Triarius, first becomes important about 473, when he wrested a treaty from Leo by which he was to enjoy the title of *Magister Equitum et Peditum*, and receive a yearly subsidy of 2,000 lb. of gold in return for the services of himself and his warriors. Soon after the accession of Zeno a pretender, Basiliscus, rose in revolt, supported by Theodoric, son of Triarius, but after nearly two years of exile Zeno returned to Constantinople and ousted his rival, who was sent away to die of hunger in a fortress of Cappadocia. Theodoric the Amal, who had supported the cause of Zeno, now became Patrician and Master of the Soldiery, titles of great honour in the Empire. War followed between the two Theodorics, but when their armies came face to face they fraternised instead of fighting, and the two chiefs made common cause against the Emperor. After various negotiations too tedious to relate, Zeno succeeded in detaching Theodoric, son of Triarius, from his alliance with the Amal chief, and Theodoric the Amal led his followers to another raid into Macedonia, which they had abandoned some years before for the lands at the mouth of the Danube. From Macedonia the Gothic host passed over the

mountains into Epirus, then back again into the Balkan district.

Wanderings of Theodoric

It would be too long and too unprofitable a task to follow Theodoric through the wanderings and wars of the years that followed. In 481 his namesake and rival died, and soon after the remnant of his followers joined the rest of the Goths under the standard of the Amal chief. For some years after this the Goths wandered aimlessly about the frontiers of the Empire, sometimes at peace with the Emperor, sometimes ravaging his territories. The supreme problem was how to find food for the nation in lands gradually growing depopulated by war and famine. The host moved to and fro with its women and children in the waggons that followed the army. It was a gigantic gipsy caravan —this Gothic nation on the march, hungry, fierce and merciless.

During all this time Odoacer was ruling in Italy. His relations with the Emperor were at first friendly, but the conquest of Dalmatia, which brought the frontiers of the Italian kingdom further eastwards, and still more, help given by Odoacer to an Imperial general, Illus, who rose in unsuccessful insurrection against Zeno, led to the outbreak of hostilities between the Italian king and the Empire. Zeno's first step was to encourage the King of the Rugians, a powerful tribe on the Danube, to attack Odoacer. The attack failed, and the defeated Rugian king, Frederick, fled to the camp of Theodoric.

Theodoric in Italy

Zeno then turned to Theodoric, who was in nowise unwilling to lead his people into the fertile lands of Italy. So in the autumn of 498 the Goths set out on this new

adventure. They fought their way along the highlands of Pannonia and Noricum, and closed this part of the expedition with a great battle against the Gepidæ—a battle that broke the power of that nation and replenished the waggons of the Goths with great stores of provisions. They descended without resistance into the plains of Italy, to find Odoacer and his army drawn up to meet them near Aquileia. They scattered his army in flight and took possession of the whole of North-eastern Italy as far as the Adige, Odoacer falling back on Verona, where he gathered what was left of his army into an entrenched camp. After a terrific contest the Gothic warriors, led by Theodoric in person, broke the forces of Odoacer and drove him back to Ravenna where, among the marshes, the defeated King made his last stand. The siege of Ravenna went on for more than three years, and in the meanwhile Theodoric had to fight more than one enemy to retain his hold over Northern Italy.

The first of these enemies was Tufa, who had been one of Odoacer's chief lieutenants and who accepted, or appeared to accept, the leadership of Theodoric. So confident was Theodoric in his fidelity that he entrusted to his command the army he sent to attack Ravenna. Like Marshal Ney, Tufa's new loyalty could not stand the strain of immediate contact with his old leader, and, with most of his troops, he went over to the side of Odoacer. The officers who refused to desert Theodoric were surrendered to Odoacer, who ruthlessly murdered them all. Perhaps encouraged by Tufa's treachery, Frederick, the Rugian king, who had followed the

standards of Theodoric into Italy, broke with his leader and began to ravage Italy on his own account. For a time things looked black for Theodoric, but the allies soon quarrelled, and Tufa was slain in a battle near Verona. Frederick threw himself into Pavia, which he held for two years. His fate we do not know.

Then, from across the Alps, a fresh antagonist appeared to challenge the right of the Ostrogoths to their new kingdom. Gundobad, King of the Burgundians, marched into Italy, nominally as the ally of Odoacer. Near Milan, Theodoric, with the help of the Visigothic king, Alaric II., met and vanquished the coalition and drove Odoacer back to Ravenna.

The siege of Ravenna now went on without interruption, and as Theodoric was able to control the harbour by means of his fleet the city was soon in dire straits.

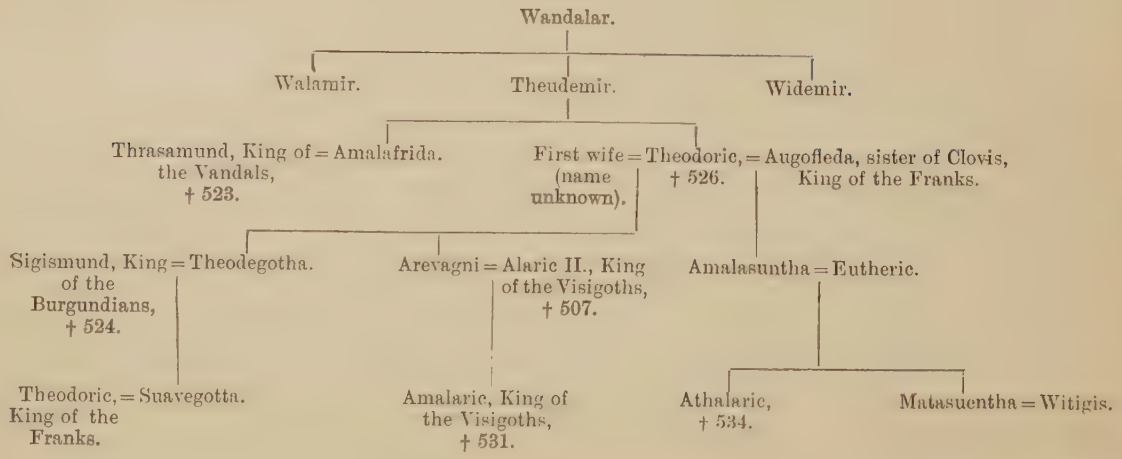
Death of Odoacer

At last Odoacer was obliged to own himself beaten, and a treaty was made between the two rival kings, by which they were to rule Italy together. Probably neither party intended to hold to so impossible an arrangement, and the chroniclers who desire to justify Theodoric tell us that Odoacer was plotting against the life of his successful rival. Theodoric may have believed that this was so, but nothing can excuse the act that followed and which remains the greatest blot on the character of the great Ostrogoth. Inviting his fallen rival to a banquet on 15th March, 493, he entrusted to some soldiers, hidden in an alcove, the task of murdering him. When their courage failed at the critical moment, Theodoric himself struck down

the king with one tremendous stroke, shouting, as he smote, " This is what you did to my friends ".

Thus, by one foul deed, Theodoric rid himself of his last rival, and stood the unchallenged master of the Italy that he had won. After the long strife of contending chiefs the possibility of a new Empire in the West seemed to have returned.

THE FAMILY OF THEODORIC



CHAPTER IV

THE GOTHIC KINGDOM IN ITALY

THEODORIC was about forty years of age when he began to reign as sole king in Italy, and he reigned there for rather more than thirty years. After twenty years of wandering and war, the Ostrogoths settled down to thirty years of almost uninterrupted peace.

It was no easy task that confronted the new master of Italy. Not only had he to repair the ravages of long years of desolating strife, he had also to train Gothic and Roman subjects to live at peace together, and, Arian as he was, to win the support of the Catholic clergy, on whose goodwill the success of his rule must largely depend. That he succeeded in doing both these things is the most striking evidence of his greatness.

Theodoric, King of Goths and Romans

Though Theodoric had won Italy by right of conquest, he tried to give legal sanction to his rule. He seems to have secured the confirmation of his kingship from his Ostrogothic followers; he also sent to the Emperor at Constantinople for the ratification of his title. Zeno's death in 491 delayed the negotiations, and it was not till six years later that Anastasius gave a vague recognition to Theodoric's kingship. As king of the Goths and Romans (for that was probably his title) Theo-

doric was, for all practical purposes, absolute monarch of Italy. But in the background were the undefined claims of the Emperor to supremacy, destined to be reasserted as soon as death had removed the strong hand of the Gothic king from the helm.

Theodoric's administration

The recognition of his position by the Emperor brought strength to Theodoric's rule, because it commended that rule to the Romans, and so enabled him to secure the help of Roman officials in the difficult work of organising the kingdom. The vigorous initiative that the Goths had learnt in their long fight for subsistence was now linked with the traditions of authority and ordered rule that had lasted on in Italy through all the confused strife of the last hundred years. Under strong and good government Italy began to recover her prosperity. Trade developed, agriculture revived, so that Italy was able to export corn instead of importing it. At Rome and at Ravenna, which Theodoric made his capital, great aqueducts were made to supply fresh water. Roads were improved, and the great cities of Italy were once more adorned with works of art and defended by strong walls.

All this work of administration went on under the eye of Theodoric, who had something of Napoleon's marvellous power of supervising all the details of administration. But he was also served by a well-organised body of officials, from the great officers of State, the "Illustres," as they were called, down to the junior clerks, policemen and others who stood on the bottom rung of the ladder, up which they might hope to climb to higher office.

Of Theodoric's officers of State, the best known is

Magnus Aurelius Cassiodorus. Sprung from an old official family, Cassiodorus entered public life under his father, who was Prætorian Prefect, about the year 500. He is said to have won the favour of Theodoric by an eloquent oration delivered on the occasion of a visit of the King to Rome, and was appointed as Quæstor, or Public Orator. He acted for years as the King's secretary, and his legal training and knowledge of Latin literature must have made him a useful adviser. He wrote a history of the Goths, in twelve books, that has perished, and collected his letters and State papers into twelve books of *Variæ*, which remain and form one of the most valuable sources of information for the reign of Theodoric. He survived his master, and became Prætorian Prefect under his successor in 533. After the fall of the Gothic kingdom he retired to the monastery of Viviers, which he founded, and there we lose sight of him. Cassiodorus

During the greater part of Theodoric's reign the internal affairs of the kingdom provide little material for the chroniclers. Eight years after his accession he paid his first and only visit to Rome, where he stayed for six months, and provided splendid entertainments for the pleasure-loving people. But his capital was not Rome but Ravenna. Here he could better keep in touch with his Gothic followers, who settled chiefly in Northern Italy, and was also within easy reach of the northern frontier in case the need arose for meeting a hostile invasion.

The Gothic warriors were allotted a third of the lands of Italy—for the most part the same lands that Goths and Romans

Odoacer's followers had held. Liberius, an old officer of Odoacer, was appointed by Theodoric to arrange the allotment of lands. The Goths lived apparently in small groups, not mixing much with the native Italians, with whom, however, their relations seem to have been quite friendly. Special officers—*Comites Gothorum*—administered Gothic law in all cases between Goths. Where any case arose between a Goth and a Roman a Roman lawyer was associated with the Gothic officer in deciding it. Theodoric's Roman subjects were under Roman law administered by Roman officials.

Relations with 1. The Church

Though Theodoric was an Arian, he remained, till near the end of his reign, on friendly terms with the Catholic clergy. Soon after his accession he was called to decide between two rival candidates for the Papacy, and on his visit to Rome he gave splendid gifts to the shrine of St. Peter. The same spirit of toleration led him to take the Jews under his protection, and when, near the end of his life, the synagogues at Rome and Ravenna were burnt in a riot, he insisted on the punishment of the rioters and the reconstruction of the buildings.

2. The Visigoths

The external affairs of the reign turn around Theodoric's relations with the Teutonic kingdoms of the West and with the Empire. Of the kingdoms beyond the Alps, the largest and most important, at the time of Theodoric's accession, was the Visigothic kingdom that included Southern France and most of Spain. The ruler of this kingdom was Alaric II., who succeeded to the throne in 485. Though an Arian, he tried, like Theodoric, to propitiate the Catholic clergy in his dominions. With Theodoric the Visigoths remained on terms of

close alliance, and Alaric married a daughter of the Ostrogothic king. This was the beginning of a series of matrimonial alliances between the house of Theodoric and the neighbouring rulers. His sister, Amalafrida, married Thrasamund, the Vandal king of North Africa, and one of his daughters was given in marriage to Sigismund, son of the Burgundian king, Gundobad. Theodoric himself married Augofleda, sister of Clovis, the king of the Franks.

3. The Franks

The story of the rise of Clovis will be told in another chapter. It only concerns us now in its influence on the policy of Theodoric. At first he attempted to maintain friendly relations with the Frankish king, but when Clovis began to prepare for an attack on his ally, the king of the Visigoths, he remonstrated in vain. In the war that followed Alaric was defeated and slain before Theodoric's army arrived to help him. Some years of war followed between Theodoric and Clovis, ending in a severe defeat of Clovis by the Ostrogoths. Theodoric and the Frankish king then agreed to partition the dominions of Alaric, Clovis taking most of Southern Gaul and Theodoric Provence.

4. Spain

Then Spain, the one remaining Visigothic province, becomes for a time the centre of Theodoric's policy. On the death of Alaric an illegitimate son, Gesalic, was proclaimed as king by some of the Visigoths. He was defeated by the Burgundians and fled to Carthage, where Thrasamund espoused his cause for a time, till Theodoric's protests obliged him to dismiss the fugitive. Ultimately, Gesalic was captured in Gaul by Theodoric's soldiers and put to death. There remained only one

heir of the house of Alaric, his little son Amalaric, grandson of Theodoric. With the consent of the Visigoths Theodoric acted as regent in Spain for the young king, and thus practically added Spain to his other dominions.

5. The Empire

We turn now to Theodoric's relations with the Empire. On the death of Zeno, Anastasius succeeded as Emperor, and though over sixty at the time of his accession reigned for twenty-five years in Constantinople. The theological controversies in which he was involved during the greater part of his reign, and in which he took the side that lost for him the support and sympathy of the Popes, tended to sever the East from the West. A desultory war that broke out between the Gothic kingdom and the Empire, in consequence of Theodoric's annexation of Sirmium, in Illyria, ended in 509, and while Anastasius lived friendly relations were maintained between the two Courts. But when Justin succeeded as Emperor and became reconciled to the Pope, the fear that the Emperor might manifest his orthodoxy by inaugurating a persecution of the Arians in the east led to friction between him and Theodoric. In the year 525, when this policy of persecution began, Theodoric sent Pope John I. to Constantinople to remonstrate with the Emperor. The Pope was accorded a splendid welcome at Constantinople, and officiated at a magnificent coronation of the new Emperor. How far he succeeded in winning any toleration for the Arian subjects of the Empire is not clear; what is clear is that the result of the visit was to demonstrate the alliance between Pope and Emperor in a way that

Theodoric never intended. When John returned he found the King passionately indignant, and the Pope was thrown into prison, where he died soon after (25th May, 526).

Last year of Theodoric

The closing years of the reign of Theodoric are a rather sad contrast to the prosperity and wise government of the earlier time. His only child was a daughter, Amalasuentha, and about the year 515 Theodoric married her to a young Goth from Spain, Eutharic. Eutharic was a strong Arian, and his influence over his father-in-law appears to have led him to adopt a less friendly attitude towards his Catholic subjects just at the very time when the Eastern Court was inclined to press more hardly on the Arians. The effect of all this was that the good relations that had for so long subsisted between Theodoric and his Roman subjects began to give place to an attitude of mutual suspicion.

Boethius

The Chief of the Senate (*Caput Senatus*) at this time was Symmachus, a Roman noble of illustrious ancestry, great wealth and high reputation. With him was associated a younger man, Boethius, who had been placed under the care of Symmachus in early life and had married his daughter Rusticiana. Boethius enjoyed the confidence of Theodoric, and in 522 his two little sons were made consuls, an honour that Boethius repaid by a great oration in praise of the king.

But now Theodoric's attitude changed. Throughout Western Europe the Arian cause was losing ground, for the Frankish kingdom was still growing and the Burgundian and Vandal kingdoms had passed into the hands of Catholic rulers. Just at this juncture an

officer of Theodoric's Court, Cyprian, who held a position not unlike that of public prosecutor, accused a Roman noble named Albinus of treasonable correspondence with the Emperor. It is impossible to say whether Cyprian was acting from patriotic or personal motives, but his accusation was strongly resented not only by Albinus but by Boethius, who warmly espoused the cause of his friend. "Whatever Albinus did," he said, "I and the whole Senate of Rome did the same." Cyprian, thus challenged, replied by charging Boethius with treason and procuring his arrest.

In the events that followed there is much that is obscure. The exact nature of the charges against Boethius is uncertain; what is certain is that he was not accorded a fair trial. He was condemned by his fellow-senators without being heard in his own defence, and sentence of death was passed against him. After some months in prison he was executed.

The *Consolations of Philosophy*

The name of Boethius is remembered now, not only as almost the last great Roman, but even more as the author of a book written in prison during the last few weeks of his life, the famous *Consolations of Philosophy*. The purpose of the book, which is in prose, with poems interspersed here and there, is to explain how, after the Muses had vainly tried to comfort the prisoner, Philosophy, appearing in the guise of a tall and beautiful woman, came to him and spoke of the vanity of human hopes, and the satisfaction to be found in resting in God. There is nothing distinctively Christian in the book, though Boethius himself was a Christian; it is the last word of the old Stoic world of Marcus Aurelius

and Seneca. As a text-book of philosophy the book became one of the most cherished possessions of the early Middle Ages; it was translated into English by Alfred the Great and into most of the other languages of Europe.

Death of Theodoric, 526

The mission of Pope John followed almost immediately after the death of Boethius, and before the death of the Pope Symmachus had been accused and executed. Theodoric had declared war on his Roman subjects, and it is hard to say what the issue of the contest would have been. But before Theodoric could put into execution an edict ordering the churches throughout Italy to be handed over to the Arians, he was stricken with mortal disease, and died on 30th August, 526. He is said to have bitterly lamented on his death-bed the acts of violence that had stained the last years of his life. Many historians are disposed to account for them by the theory that Theodoric had in these last years become partially insane. Certainly it is not easy, on any other theory, to explain the extraordinary transformation in his character.

Theodoric was buried at Ravenna, where his tomb still stands. But the porphyry vase that held his remains has vanished long ago, like the Gothic kingdom that he tried to establish. The history of the decline and fall of that kingdom can be told only in outline.

Reign of Amalasuentha, 526-34

Eutharic had died long before his father-in-law, and the throne passed to his little son Athalaric, for whom Amalasuentha acted as regent, with Cassiodorus as chief adviser. But Amalasuentha, whose sympathies were with her Roman subjects rather than with the ruder

Gothic warriors, alienated the Goths by attempting to give her son the education of a Roman lawyer instead of that of a Gothic chief. After a time he escaped from her tutelage, only to ruin himself with self-indulgence and to die at the age of eighteen, in 534. Amalasuentha then invited the only surviving relation of the late King, Theodahad, to become her colleague on the throne. He accepted the offer, and almost at once deposed Amalasuentha, who soon after perished at the hands of a disaffected party of Gothic nobles.

Imperial intervention

But now a new power appears on the scene. The story of the revival of the Empire will be told in a later chapter. By the year 535 Justinian, having completed the conquest of North Africa, was ready to profit by the confusion in Italy, and to make good the claims of the Empire to those Italian lands that the emperors had never ceased to regard as a part of their dominions. By the year 536 Justinian's generals had wrested Dalmatia from the Goths, and the greatest of his commanders, Belisarius, had landed in Sicily and captured the island with little difficulty.

In the spring of this year Belisarius crossed into Southern Italy, and the long death agony of the Gothic kingdom began. With the fall of Naples all Southern Italy passed into the hands of the Imperial general. The Goths then, in a great national assembly, deposed the worthless Theodahad, who was hunted down and slain on the way to Ravenna. In his place a veteran Gothic warrior, Witigis, was raised on the shields of the Goths as their king. But the Imperial cause still prospered. Witigis withdrew northwards, leaving only a small

arrison in Rome, and on the approach of Belisarius his garrison marched out of the city, which Belisarius ccupied, fortified and victualled.

He had rightly judged that the Goths would soon epent of their mistake in abandoning Rome. By the pring of 537 Witigis marched south at the head of the vhole Gothic army, and after a tremendous contest utside the walls of the city shut up Belisarius and his orces in Rome. A year's siege followed, marked by nfinite resourcefulness on the part of the Imperial eneral and much strenuous fighting on the part of he Goths, but in March, 538 the Goths broke up their ncampments, where they had suffered grievously from isease, and marched north to meet an attack on Ravenna by a fresh Imperial force.

It took Belisarius two more years of hard fighting to each Ravenna, which he blockaded. He is said to ave won the city by pretending to agree to a proposal of he Goths that he should himself accept the throne of taly. Witigis was sent as a prisoner to Constantinople, nd Ravenna became, and remained for two hundred ears, the centre of Imperial rule in Italy.

Just at this juncture Belisarius was recalled by the Emperor, and the administration of the newly recovered rovince of Italy fell into the hands of a body of apacious and often incompetent Byzantine officials— ien who oppressed and robbed with impartial injustice ie soldiers of Belisarius and the native nobles of Italy. Recall of Belisarius, 540

At this time the position of the Goths seemed desperate. Many of them had submitted to the Empire, and the reconcilable remnant had retired to the one remaining

stronghold in Italy, the city of Ticinum (Pavia). Here they chose Ildibad as their king. After a time his scanty forces began to be augmented by deserters from the Imperial army, and before the end of the year 540 he was able to take the offensive and win a great victory at Treviso, which gave back most of Northern Italy to the Goths.

A short period of internal dissensions checked, for a time, the rising tide of Gothic success. Ildibad was murdered by the adherents of a rival faction, and his successor, Eraric, was in his turn slain. Then, in the autumn of 541, the last great hero of the Gothic race was elected as king. He was the nephew of Ildibad, and is known to the Greek chroniclers of the time as Totila, though his real name appears to have been Baduila. His reign of eleven years forms a splendid close to the story of Ostrogothic rule in Italy.

Gothic Revival under Totila

Totila knew that his chance of regaining Italy depended on his securing and retaining the goodwill of the Italian people, alienated by the exactions of the tax-gatherers of Justinian. He therefore repressed plundering among his soldiers, and contented himself with levying from the people the taxes that they would have had to pay to the Imperial officers. So successful was this policy that within two years of his accession he had reconquered the whole of Italy with the exception of a few cities, of which the most important were Ravenna and Rome.

Alarmed at this sudden change, Justinian sent Belisarius, who had for some time been in disfavour at Court, back to Italy, with very inadequate resources,

Return of Belisarius, 544

to reconquer the lost province. In the five years of desultory war that followed Belisarius did nothing worthy of his great reputation, excepting his occupation and defence of Rome. Totila had blockaded Rome, which was defended by a small Imperial force, and after a brave but unsuccessful attempt by Belisarius to break the boom that Totila had placed across the river Tiber to prevent fresh provisions coming into the city by sea, a part of the garrison betrayed the city to Totila, who entered without any resistance, the Imperial troops marching out on the other side. It is said that Totila at first proposed to raze the whole city to the ground, but was persuaded by the entreaties of his great antagonist Belisarius to abandon the idea. Instead, he tore large gaps in the walls, so as to make the city indefensible, and then marched away leaving it deserted, and not allowing a single human being to remain behind.

Into the deserted city Belisarius, with a thousand soldiers, marched about a month later, and within twenty-five days he had rendered it once more defensible, with hastily constructed walls rudely heaped together. After one vain effort to regain the city Totila and his Goths marched away, leaving the Imperial general entrenched among the ruins of the city that had once been the mistress of the world. Two years later, when Belisarius had been recalled from Italy, Totila succeeded, through the treachery of part of the garrison, in once more making himself master of Rome, and he now invited the Roman nobles to return to the city, and tried to repair the ravages of war.

Expedition of Narses, 552

Meanwhile the Emperor determined on one last effort to win back Italy. His Grand Chamberlain, Narses, a man already over seventy years of age, was placed in command of a great host of barbarians, attracted to his standard by the hope of the plunder of Italy. He marched overland, and arrived at Ravenna without encountering any resistance. But a little farther south he met the army of Totila, and a great battle ended in the complete defeat of the Goths, who were outnumbered and perhaps outgeneralled. Totila was slain as he was flying from the field.

The end of the Goths, 553

The end of the Goths had come. For a few months a new leader, Teias, strove to make headway against the power of the Empire, but town after town surrendered to Narses, and at length the remnant of the Gothic army was hemmed in near Naples, and after vainly seeking refuge in the rocky fastnesses of Mons Lactarius they made one last desperate attack on the Imperial forces. After two days of hand-to-hand combat, during which Teias was slain, the Goths offered to leave Italy and find a home in some barbarian kingdom. Their terms were accepted, and they marched across the passes of the Alps and vanished—we know not whither.

Theodoric's great attempt to build up a kingdom of Italy, by welding together Roman and Teuton under his sway, had failed. Thirteen centuries were destined to pass before the royal House of Savoy achieved the goal that the great Ostrogoth had failed to reach.

CHAPTER V

THE RISE OF THE FRANKS

The coming of the Franks

AMONG the latest of the Teutonic peoples to cross the frontiers of the Empire was the tribe, or rather confederation of tribes, to whom the Romans gave the name of the Franks.[1] They came from the Thuringian forest district, where a river called the Sala (Saale), a tributary of the Maine, flows across the land still known as the *Unter Franken*. It was probably from this river that they, or a part of them, acquired the name of the Salian Franks.

We first hear of Frankish inroads across the Rhine about the year 250. From this time they were constantly crossing the frontier, either as raiders to plunder the Roman cities, or as allies to enrol themselves in the Imperial armies.

In the fifth century the Franks fall into three sections. There were the Franks who remained near the cradle-lands of the race, in Thuringia; those who settled along the middle Rhine, and who were called the Ripuarian Franks; and those who moved farther north and

[1] The origin of the name is uncertain. The two most probable explanations are (1) that the name was derived from a Keltic (Breton) word *franc*, meaning "open" and so "free," (2) that it was derived from a Teutonic word *Franci*, meaning "ferocious".

occupied those lands north of the Roman province of Gaul that were afterwards called the Low Countries.

Early in the fifth century these Northern Franks, under a chief named Clodion, moved southward, and drove the Roman garrison out of Cambrai in 445. Clodion then seized Tournai, which became the capital of a new Frankish kingdom. His successor, Merowig, who is said to have taken his part in the great battle of Châlons that drove Attila out of Gaul, died about 457, and was succeeded by his son Childeric.

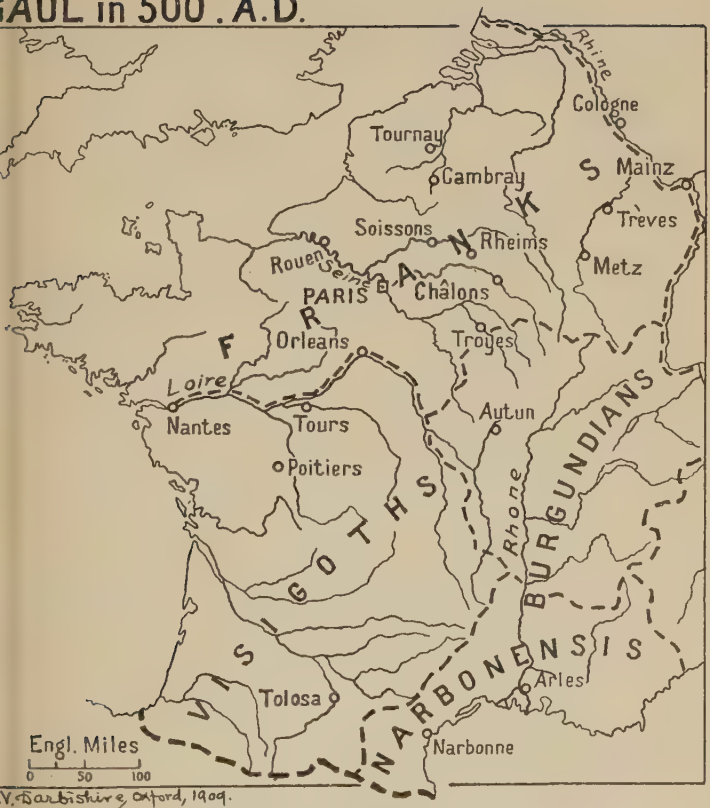
Legend and history are probably blended in these earlier chapters in the history of the Merovingian house, but with the accession of Childeric's son Clovis,[1] in 481, the history of the Frankish kingdom really begins.

Accession of Clovis, 481

When Clovis succeeded to his father's throne his kingdom was one of four little Frankish kingdoms in Northern Gaul. Siegbert was king of the Ripuarian Franks, with his capital at Cologne; Ragnakar ruled at Cambrai, Cararic at Terouenne and Clovis at Tournai. Farther South, in the valley of the Seine, was the one district of Gaul still under Roman rule—the independent kingdom of Soissons, which Ægidius had founded, and which was now ruled by his son Syagrius. Ægidius was an old enemy of the Franks, and it was not long before the young Frankish King found an excuse for attacking Syagrius. In alliance with Ragnakar of Cambrai, Clovis marched against him, defeated him in a great battle near Soissons, and drove him out of his kingdom. South of the Loire lay the great kingdom of

Defeat of Syagrius

[1] His Frankish name was Chlodovech, which in later German becomes Hlodwig and Ludvig, and in its Latinised form Clovis and Louis.


GAUL in 500 . A.D.
Rhine
Cologne
Tournay
Cambray
Mainz
Treves
Soissons
Rheims
Metz
Rouen
Seine
PARIS
Châlons
Troyes
Orleans
Loire
Nantes
Tours
Autun
Poitiers
Rhone
Arles
Tolosa
Narbonne
FRANKS
BURGUNDIANS
VISIGOTHS
NARBONENSIS
Engl. Miles
0 50 100
V. Barbistire, Oxford, 1909.

Euric the Visigoth, who had died in 485, leaving a son Alaric, a boy of about sixteen years of age, to succeed him. To Alaric Syagrius fled for refuge, but on the demand of Clovis the Visigoths delivered up their guest, who was promptly murdered by the Franks. The whole kingdom of Syagrius, including the city of Paris, fell to Clovis.

In 491 Clovis marched against and subdued a tribe of Ripuarian Franks, and so extended his dominions to the borders of Siegbert of Cologne, with whom, for the time, he remained on friendly terms.

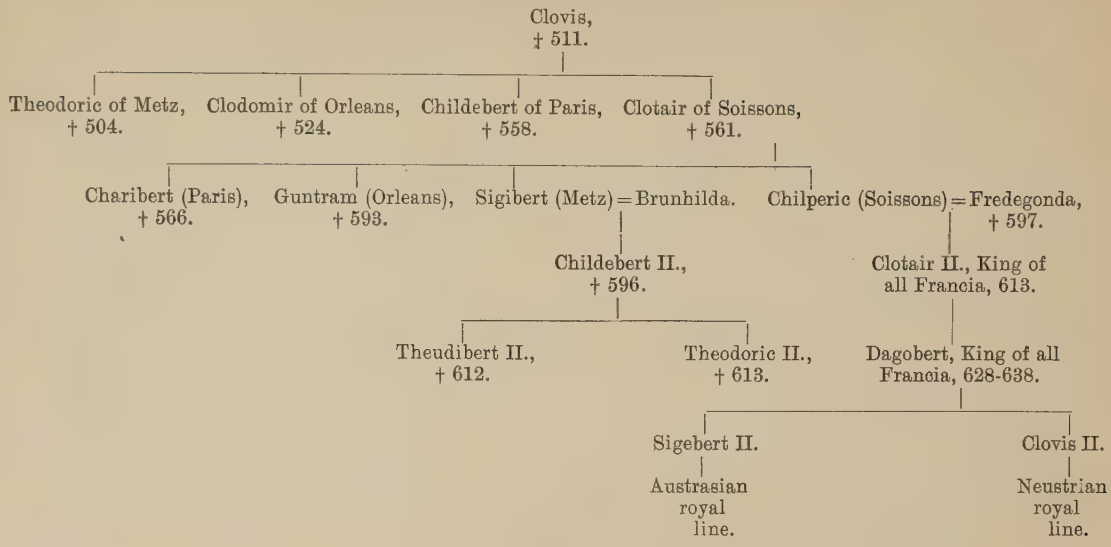
This southward extension of Clovis' kingdom brought him into contact with two important tribes—the Burgundians in the South and the Alemanni in the East. With the former of these he entered into friendly relations, and married Clotilda, the niece of the reigning King, Gundobad. Gundobad was an Arian, but his niece had been converted to the Catholic faith, and Clovis, who was a pagan as yet, was drawn by her influence in the direction of orthodox Christianity.

The actual conversion of Clovis is connected with an expedition against the Alemanni, a confederation of Teutonic tribes who had settled in the lands watered by the Maine and the Neckar. It is said that Clovis, hard pressed in a fight at Tolbiac, prayed to the Christ whom his wife worshipped to give him victory, and that while he prayed his enemies broke and fled.

Conversion of Clovis, 496

Whatever truth there may be in the story, it is certain that in 496 Clovis was baptised at Rheims, the old ecclesiastical capital of Northern Gaul, by the aged Bishop Remigius. The bishop was attended by most

EARLY MEROVINGIANS



of the bishops of the province, while Clovis brought with him three thousand Frankish warriors to be baptised with him. Gregory of Tours has recorded Remigius' famous speech to the King: "Bow thy neck, Sicambrian; adore what thou hast burned, and burn what thou hast adored" (*Mitis depone colla, Sicamber; adora quod incendisti, incende quod adorasti*).

The baptism of Clovis is one of the most important turning-points in European history. How much sincere conviction had to do with his acceptance of Christianity it is impossible to say—certainly Christian virtues are not conspicuous in his after-life—but as a political step his alliance with the Catholic Church was a most sagacious move in the struggle for power going on between the various Teutonic chiefs of Western Europe. For it threw all the influence of the Catholic clergy on to the side of the Franks. The kings of the Ostrogoths, Visigoths, Vandals and Burgundians were Arians, and however tolerant they might be, there could be no real co-operation between them and the orthodox clergy. But when Clovis led his people into the fold of the Church a new alliance began between the Frankish kings and the Roman Church—an alliance that was destined, more than any other event of history, to shape the ideas and institutions of Mediæval Europe. As Bishop Avitus of Vienne said, writing to Clovis soon after his baptism: "Wherever you fight in these lands, it is we (the Church) who conquer".

Struggles with Burgundy

The first result of Clovis' baptism was the establishment of friendly relations with the cities of Brittany, which had hitherto withstood his efforts to gain control

over them. Soon after, a domestic quarrel in the Burgundian royal house gave the Frankish King an opportunity. Godegisil, brother of King Gundobad, sent to Clovis offering, as later feudal language would have expressed it, to hold the kingdom of Burgundy of him if he would help him to drive out his brother. Nothing loth, Clovis marched into Burgundy and Gundobad fled to Avignon. But for some reason that is not clear, Clovis withdrew his forces soon after and Gundobad returned, and, having put his brother to death, resumed the kingship.

Alemanni

But if Clovis failed in Burgundy he soon extended his kingdom in another direction. About the year 503 he was again at war with the Alemanni. He drove them from their lands by the Maine and Neckar, and settled his Frankish followers in their place. The Alemanni fled into the territories of Theodoric, who took them under his protection and forbade Clovis to pursue them further. They settled in the district that roughly corresponds to the modern states of Wurtemburg and Baden and part of Switzerland—a district of which we shall hear again as the Duchy of Alemannia or Suabia.

The Burgundian war is important chiefly because it led to an alliance of Arian kings, under the leadership of Theodoric, to check the growing power of the Franks. If the allies had joined in an attack on the dominions of Clovis it would have gone hard with the Frankish King, but Theodoric was anxious for peace, and without his help the other kings were not strong enough to attack the Franks.

Visigoths

The initiative came from the Franks. In 507 Clovis assembled his warriors and announced to them: "I take it ill that these Arians should hold any part of Gaul. Let us go out with God's help and overthrow them, and bring their land under our sway." The proposal was promptly welcomed and the Franks marched to attack the Visigoths. Alaric, rashly taking the offensive without waiting for Theodoric's troops to come to his help, was defeated and slain in a great battle near Poitiers. The prize of the victory was almost all the Visigothic kingdom north of the Pyrenees, including the great cities of Bordeaux and Toulouse. After this success Clovis returned home, leaving his son Theodoric, in alliance with Gundobad and the Burgundians, who had gone over to his side, to press the siege of Arles, which held out successfully for nearly two years, till relieved by the Ostrogoths in 510. In that year a great army, under the command of Count Ibbas, one of Theodoric's best generals, crossed the Alps and inflicted a decisive defeat on the Franks and Burgundians. The war ended, as already mentioned, in a compromise between Clovis and Theodoric.

Meanwhile Anastasius had rewarded Clovis' attack on the Arian kingdom of the Visigoths by bestowing on him the consular office, and at Tours the Frankish King was invested with the purple tunic and mantle of a Roman official.

Last years of Clovis, 509-11

The last two years of Clovis' life and reign were, according to Gregory of Tours, filled with crime and bloodshed. His first victim was the aged King of the Ripuarian Franks, who was murdered by his son Cloderic,

is said at Clovis' instigation. Cloderic, in his turn, was slain by some messengers of Clovis, and the king himself then came to Cologne and was elected as ruler of the Ripuarian kingdom. Cararic, king of the Frankish kingdom of Terouenne, was then seized and murdered and his kingdom annexed by Clovis. Ragnakar of Cambrai soon after shared the same fate.

Thus the whole Frankish district of Northern Gaul passed into the hands of Clovis, who died in Paris in the year 511, at the age of forty-five, leaving his kingdom to be divided between his four sons.

Frankish organisation

At this point it will be convenient to say something about the organisation of the Frankish kingdom. The Franks, like the other German tribes who found their way into the Empire, brought with them the same Teutonic system of government that Tacitus describes in his *Germania* three hundred years before. At the head of the tribe or nation was the king, elected by the armed warriors as their war leader. His person was protected by special penalties, and certain lands were assigned to him for his maintenance. His actual power must have varied much. A king like Clovis, skilled in war and statecraft, was probably nearly autocratic. But a weaker king might easily be little more than a tool in the hands of his nobles.

The King

One change that followed on the migration of the tribes was that the king gradually came to be thought of as the owner of the territories that he ruled. It followed that the same law of inheritance that held good for the lands of the nobles came to be applied to the kingdom. The Frank system of inheritance was

equal division between all the male descendants of the family. Accordingly we shall find that on the death of a Frankish king his kingdom was divided among his sons—an arrangement that gave rise to continual contests.

Even earlier than this the kingly office had generally become restricted to some noble family, descended generally from some hero of the national history—some Amal or Meroving or Cerdic.

Nobles

Next in power to the king stood the nobles. In the primitive Teutonic constitutions these formed a council by whom the king was advised and by whose influence his power was held in check. But migration and war raised to power among the Teutonic peoples a new class of warrior-nobles, the "thegns" of the king, whose interest it was rather to exalt than to curb the power of the king.

Warriors

Below the nobles were the free warriors of the tribe who assembled two or three times a year for consultation over such questions as peace and war and for important judicial business. As the Frankish kingdom grew in extent such meetings must have become less frequent, and the actual share of the armed warrior in the work of government much less.

Serfs and slaves

Below the armed warrior class there grew up two other classes—the class of serfs, often perhaps conquered peoples who were allowed to retain certain right in return for labour on the land of their overlord—and the class of slaves, whose lot appears to have grown harder when the Teutonic peoples came under the influence of Roman legal ideas.

Frankish Laws

The Franks, like the other Teutonic peoples, brought with them into the Empire a body of unwritten customary law. This law, modified by local conditions, was after a time written in Latin in a number of codes, of which the most famous is the Salian or Salic Law. This code was compiled before the conversion of the Franks to Christianity, but contains later additions by Clovis and his successors. The code consists of regulations about judicial procedure and statements of the "wehrgeld" or compensation payable for various classes of offences. The "wehrgeld" for slaying a Frankish freeman was 200 solidi, for a serf (*letus*) 100 solidi. A Roman was reckoned as equal to a serf, with a wehrgeld of 100 solidi, while that of a slave was about 30 solidi.

The chief officers of the State, next to the king, were the *grafio* (count), who ruled over a *pagus* or shire; then the *sacebaro*, or ruler of a hundred, and the *thunginus*, apparently a popularly elected officer of the hundred.

The Salian Code also contains regulations for trial by ordeal—a method of trial that the Church, in those early days, encouraged in cases where no evidence of a decisive kind was forthcoming.

The Salian Law shows us the legal system of the Franks just as it comes into contact with the Roman Law and the Law of the Church. Both these were destined to influence deeply the development of Frankish institutions, as we shall see later.

The Gauls and Romans

In Gaul the Franks found at least two peoples of earlier settlement. The Gauls, a Keltic race, formed

the peasantry of the conquered lands. They were not exterminated or driven out, as the Britons were by the Anglo-Saxon invaders of this country, but became "hewers of wood and drawers of water" to their conquerors. Above these were the Romanised inhabitants —men of many races, who had settled in the Empire at an earlier time, and had become Roman in language and ideas. Between these and the newcomers friendly relations gradually grew up, and the influence of this Roman civilisation modified by degrees the language and character of the Franks of the West, while those who remained on the other side of the Rhine retained their Teutonic language and customs.

Partitions of Frankish Empire

The history of the Frankish kingdoms after the death of Clovis can be told only in outline. His Empire—for such it had really become—was parcelled out by his sons into four kingdoms, having their capitals at Metz, Orleans, Paris and Soissons. The period that follows is marked by the extension of the frontiers of the Merovingian lands and by constant struggles between the members of the royal house—struggles in which murder plays as large a part as open contest.

Theodoric, Clovis' eldest son, to whom the kingdom of Metz had fallen, carried his frontiers eastwards into Thuringia and to the banks of the Danube. Meanwhile the other three brothers joined in an attack on Burgundy, which was absorbed into the Frankish kingdom in 534. A little later Theodebert, son of Theodoric of Metz, overran and conquered from the Ostrogoths the old Roman province of Provence, and so brought the Frankish realm to the shores of the Mediterranean.

During all this time internal feuds went on between the brothers and nephews, till, in 558, Clotair of Soissons became the sole survivor of the Merovingian house, and reunited under one rule all the possessions of the Frankish family. He died in 561, almost his last public act having been to capture his son Chramnus, who had rebelled against him, and burn him alive, with all his family.

Brunhilda and Fredegonda

Clotair left four sons, who again partitioned the Frankish realm. And now two new figures appear upon the scene where they are destined to play the leading parts in a ferocious and bloodthirsty drama. The first of these was Brunhilda, a daughter of the Visigothic King of Spain, who became the wife of Siegbert of Metz. The other was Fredegonda. Audovera, wife of Chilperic of Soissons, brought her to the Court as her maid, but she succeeded in inducing the king to repudiate his wife. He then married Brunhilda's sister, but Fredegonda after a time secured her murder, and succeeded to her place as queen at Soissons. Brunhilda naturally regarded the upstart murderess with deadly hatred.

War followed between the two kings, but Fredegonda, having secured the assassination of Siegbert at the moment of victory, murdered one by one all the children of her husband excepting her own son Clotair, and then finally her husband himself.

Meanwhile a series of events too complicated to tell in detail, placed Childebert, Brunhilda's son, on the thrones of Paris, Orleans and Burgundy in 593. Years of war followed, during which the authority of the surviving kings of the Merovingian house over the vassals

declined. Childebert died in 596, leaving Brunhilda as regent for his two little sons. Next year Fredegonda also died, just as her plan for uniting all the Franks under her son's rule seemed on the verge of success. Still the contest went on, till the death of Brunhilda, who was brutally done to death by Clotair in 614, left the son of Fredegonda as sole ruler of the Frankish realm.

In these long years of contest the Merovingian kingdom gradually fell into three divisions, Austrasia, Neustria and Burgundy, the first comprising the Teutonic lands of the east, the second the Latinised lands west of the Scheldt and Meuse, the last the lands farther south, watered by the Rhone.

The condition of Western Europe at this period is well summarised in Milman's *History of Latin Christianity*:—

Condition of Western Europe

"It is difficult to conceive a more dark and odious state of society than that of France under the Merovingian kings, the descendants of Clovis, as described by Gregory of Tours. In the conflict or coalition of barbarism with Roman Christianity, barbarism had introduced into Christianity all its ferocity, with none of its generosity or magnanimity. Its energy shows itself in atrocity of cruelty and even of sensuality. Throughout assassinations, parricides and fratricides intermingle with adulteries and rapes. That King Clotair should burn alive his rebellious son with his wife and daughter is fearful enough, but we are astounded even in these times with a Bishop of Tours burning a man alive to obtain the deeds of an estate which he coveted

Fredegonda sends two murderers to assassinate Childebert, and these assassins are clergymen. She causes the Archbishop of Rouen to be murdered while chanting the service in his church; and in this murder a bishop and an archdeacon are her accomplices. Marriage was a bond contracted and broken on the lightest occasion. Some of the Merovingian kings took as many wives, either together or in succession, as suited either their passion or their politics."

Devastated by civil war, the lands of Western Europe also suffered, in this sixth century, the horrors of plague and hostile invasion. The chroniclers of the time are full of records of the superstitious terrors awakened by the pestilence that swept across Europe, striking down its victims by thousands, and appearing to the terrified eyes of men as a visible demon armed with a dart. And on the society disorganised by pestilence, wild tribes of Saxons, Huns and other peoples broke, plundering and slaying. Unless there had arisen new leaders to defend the frontiers, Western Europe must have relapsed into barbarism and anarchy.

CHAPTER VI

JUSTINIAN

Justin, 518-28

THE death of Theodoric coincides with the beginning of a revival in the Empire under the great Emperor Justinian. In 518 Anastasius the Emperor died, and Justin, the commander of the Illyrian Imperial guard, was selected by the soldiers as his successor. He was an Illyrian by race, and had served in the armies of the Empire for fifty years. His nine years' rule as Emperor was marked by few events of importance. He was illiterate and unaccustomed to civil business, and adopted his nephew Justinian, for whom he had provided a thorough education, as his colleague. On his death, in 528, Justinian succeeded as sole Emperor.

Accession of Justinian

The Empire of which Justinian now became undisputed master had been strengthened and enriched by seventy years of almost unbroken peace. Occasional frontier wars gave occupation to the army, without seriously affecting the prosperity of the people, while an efficient body of officials conducted the administration. Justin, by his profession of orthodoxy, had closed a long-standing dispute between the Emperors and the Church authorities, and his nephew was therefore able to exercise autocratic authority both in Church and

State. Justinian had already shown himself an eager student of all departments of knowledge, and when he became his uncle's colleague he quickly developed great powers of administration. His industry and grasp of affairs were the wonder of the Court. Unemotional and pitiless, he ruled his Empire with an unwearied diligence that left little time either for sleep or recreation. While deficient in the highest qualities of statesmanship he was able and ambitious; and was well served by the officers whom he gathered around him, and to whom the carrying out of his schemes was entrusted.

Before he became Emperor he had married Theodora, a woman of remarkable beauty and force of character, who had been a dancer at the theatre. Whatever her earlier life may have been, she appears, after her marriage, to have given no opportunity for scandal, and to have been forward in promoting charitable works. Soon after Justinian's accession to the throne the celebrated "Nika" riots gave her the opportunity of showing her strength of will.

The "Nika" sedition

Of the two factions in Constantinople, Justinian's dynasty was supported by the "blues," the "greens" being generally hostile. Encouraged by the Imperial patronage, the blues appear to have created something like a reign of terror in the city, till at last Justinian determined to assert his authority. An opportunity for doing so occurred in January, 532, when a faction fight began in the city which ended in the two factions joining together to attack the authorities. After some days of rioting, in the course of which a considerable part of the city was burnt, the people seized Hypatius, a

nephew of Anastasius, and compelled him to be crowned as Emperor.

The fate of Justinian seemed to hang in the balance, and some of his ministers advised him to fly. But Theodora repudiated the suggestion with indignation, and declared that "Empire is a fair winding-sheet". Emboldened by her words, the Emperor determined to abide the issue. Belisarius, with all the troops that could be got together, was sent to attack the rioters, while Narses, the chamberlain, was sent to bribe the leaders of the blues and sow disaffection between the allied factions.

Belisarius marched to the Hippodrome, where the people were assembled, and breaking in with his army began a massacre in which, it is said, about 35,000 people perished. The blues and the greens still went on and disturbed the peace of the city with their contests, but their political importance ceased after the great Nika sedition, and the throne of Justinian was never again menaced by their attacks.

The reign of Justinian is notable especially for three things—his conquests, his laws and his buildings.

Justinian's conquests

Justinian's great desire was to restore the ancient glories of the Empire by reconquering the Western provinces that had been lost to it in the previous century. The time was propitious for such an undertaking. The Teutonic kingdoms in the west were no longer ruled by their first conquerors, but by their degenerate descendants. And, moreover, the Teutonic conquerors had not succeeded in winning the support of the Roman population in the lands that they had conquered. In

Italy, especially, they remained practically a garrison in a hostile country.

1. North Africa

The first of the Western kingdoms to be reabsorbed was the Vandal kingdom of North Africa. There a Catholic king, Hilderic, was deposed by an Arian rival, Geilamir. The usurper met the protests of Justinian with insult, and in 533 Justinian equipped an expedition under the command of the great general Belisarius. The Roman fleet arrived, after a protracted voyage, to find the Vandals entirely unprepared for defence, and Belisarius marched to within ten miles of Carthage before he met the army that the Vandal king had hastily collected. After a hard fight the Vandal host was broken, and the victorious Romans entered Carthage amid the cheers of the provincial population, who welcomed the Imperial army as their deliverers from the hated Vandal yoke. One more fight outside the walls of Carthage finally broke the power of the Vandals, and Belisarius came home in 534, bringing great spoils and the Vandal king as a captive to grace his triumph. Geilamir was generously treated by Justinian, and allowed to live in Phrygia in comfort to the end of his life. North Africa became once more an Imperial province.

2. Italy

The story of the reconquest of Italy has been already told. It began with Belisarius' conquest of Sicily in 535, and ended with the victory of Narses in 552.

Persian wars

Two Persian wars interrupted this campaign in the west. The first of these, lasting from 528 to 531, was the war in which Belisarius won his first laurels. It ended in an inconclusive peace. The second began in 540,

and was due to the fear of the young Persian king, Chosroes, that, as soon as Justinian's campaign in the west was over, he would turn eastwards and overwhelm the Persian power. Resolving to take the initiative, he marched into Syria and captured and sacked the great city of Antioch, the third city of the Empire in wealth and splendour. Belisarius was recalled from the west to meet this new danger, and three years of indecisive contest followed, interrupted by the great plague that ravaged the whole East in 542. Soon after, Belisarius, falling into disgrace at Court, was recalled, and the war dragged on for two years longer, ending in a five years' truce in 545. At the end of this time the war was renewed, the centre of contest being the district of Colchis, on the shores of the Black Sea. At last, in 555, the Persians made peace, abandoning Colchis in return for a money payment.

The chief importance of these Persian wars, in their bearing on European history, was that they drained away the military and financial resources of the Empire, and were among the causes that necessitated the heavy burden of taxation that Justinian laid upon his subjects.

Justinian's buildings

A large sum was also spent in subsidies to Hunnish and other barbarian tribes on the northern frontier to buy off their opposition, while the Imperial armies were occupied with the Italian and Persian campaigns. But it was not only on war that the resources of the Empire were expended. Justinian was a great builder. In all parts of the Empire churches, aqueducts, bridges, fortifications, attested his wealth and energy. Supreme among his architectural triumphs stands the great

Church of St. Sophia in Constantinople, on the site of Constantine's Church of the Divine Wisdom, which had been twice destroyed by fire. Anthemius of Tralles was the architect of the new church, for the adornment of which the temples of Asia and of Greece were plundered of their richest marbles and columns. When completed, it must have been a spectacle of unparalleled magnificence, with its great dome "in which the sunlight seemed to grow," its hundred columns and its golden altar. St. Sophia became the model to the whole Eastern world for centuries, and remains still the greatest example of the Byzantine style of architecture.

The Code of Roman Law

But of all the works of Justinian, that which exercised the greatest influence on after-times was his codification of Roman Law. After the establishment of the Empire, the Imperial constitutions, issued by the authority of the Emperor, took the place of the *leges* passed in the *comitia*. From time to time these constitutions had been collected into codes, the last collection having been made in the time of Theodosius (438). But since that time many fresh constitutions had been issued, and Justinian determined to set about the compilation of a new code that should be simpler and more complete than any yet issued. A commission of ten men, of whom the quæstor Tribonian was the most important, undertook the work in 528, and in the following year the Code of Justinian was published.

The *Pandects*

This was followed by a much more difficult undertaking. Much of Roman law was not in the form of constitutions but in the form of opinions given by lawyers of recognised authority—*responsa prudentum*,

as they were called; very much as English Common Law is based on verdicts given by judges in the past. These *responsa* had been collected in many large volumes, but they had never been arranged on any system and often contradicted each other. Justinian determined to put this mass of material into order, and he appointed a new commission in 530 for that purpose.

It took seventeen lawyers three years to read through all the existing collections of *responsa*, eliminate contradictions and superfluous matter, and rearrange the whole in one series of volumes. The code thus drawn up, known as the *Digest* or *Pandects*, became henceforth the recognised authority for Roman case law.

The *Institutions*

Besides these two great works, Justinian issued a manual of the principles of Roman law in four volumes, specially for students—the *Institutions*.

The administrative work of the Empire was well conducted under Justinian, but all other functions of government were subordinated to the supreme necessity of raising funds for Justinian's wars and buildings and the payment of the army of officials who conducted the administration of the provinces. Justinian's expedients for raising money were often discreditable. He is said to have sold offices, to have confiscated the property of private citizens, and once at least to have attempted to debase the coinage—an attempt only frustrated by a threat of insurrection.

Much of Justinian's energies were spent over ecclesiastical controversies, into which there is no need for us to enter. He claimed the most autocratic authority

over the Church in the Empire and wrote several treatises and letters on doctrinal questions.

In December, 565, Justinian died. His reign of nearly forty years, while it had restored Italy and North Africa to the Empire for a time, had exhausted the Eastern provinces that constituted the real strength of the Empire. Even before his death there were ominous indications that the resources of the Empire had been overtaxed, and almost immediately after his death the collapse of his system showed on how unsubstantial a foundation it rested. Had Justinian, instead of turning his ambitions westward, concentrated his attention to developing the defences of the eastern frontiers of the Empire, the crescent-flag of the Prophet might never have waved over Jerusalem or Antioch, and the course of human history might have been different to a degree almost impossible to exaggerate.

Justin II., 565-578

The latter half of the sixth century was a period of misfortune for the Empire. The Persian war broke out again in the east, while the newly conquered lands in the west were overrun by fresh migrations of barbarians. Justin II. (565-578), who succeeded his uncle without opposition, declined to continue the subsidies that his predecessor had paid to the Persians and to the Avars and other tribes on the Danube. The result was that the Empire became involved in a war with the Persians that lasted for nearly twenty years, while the Avars began to break through the northern frontiers of the Empire.

Tiberius II., 576-582

Four years before his death Justin lost his reason, and was succeeded by Tiberius II., a distinguished

military officer, whose short reign of eight years was chiefly notable for an attempt to win popularity by remitting many of the most oppressive taxes. But as Tiberius tried at the same time to propitiate the army by rich and frequent donations, he left to his successor a depleted treasury and an impoverished Empire. Just before his death he nominated as his successor one of the best of his generals, Maurice, who reigned for twenty years (582-602), striving manfully but vainly to carry on the affairs of the State with a bankrupt exchequer and an army constantly on the verge of mutiny. Finally, in 602, the Danubian army rose in mutiny against an order to winter in the open, and under their leader, Phocas, marched to Constantinople. Maurice fled with his children, but was pursued and beheaded by order of the usurper, dying, it is said, with the words on his lips, "Just art Thou, O Lord God, and just are Thy judgments".

Maurice, 582-602

Phocas, 603-610

For seven years Constantinople suffered the brutalities and incompetence of Phocas, and the Empire seemed on the verge of destruction when deliverance came from an unexpected quarter. The exarch Heraclius, who ruled North Africa for the Emperor, rose in rebellion, and fitted out a fleet, which he sent under the command of his son, Heraclius, in the spring of 610, to Constantinople. Heraclius met with no opposition, and the tyrant Phocas was handed over to him in chains and sent to share the doom of his predecessor.

Heraclius

Avar invasions

One most important series of events of these troubled years remains to be noticed. While the Lombards were pressing into Italy and the Persians ravaging Asia Minor,

hordes of uncivilised barbarians came across the Danube and settled in the Balkan district. The earliest of these invaders were the Avars. Of the same race as the Huns, they had moved westward from the highlands of Central Asia, and appeared now in the lands north of the Danube. For a time they received a subsidy from Justinian as a kind of frontier-guard; but soon after the accession of Justin, the Avar *chagan*, or king, made a treaty of alliance with the Lombards for a joint attack upon the Gepidæ, a Teutonic tribe occupying lands north of the Danube. The outcome of the attack was the destruction of the Gepidæ, and the acquisition of their lands and the neighbouring province of Pannonia by the Avars, who now became one of the strongest powers of Central Europe. For many years the relations between the Avars and the Empire were generally hostile, intervals of peace being purchased from time to time at the cost of heavy subsidies.

Slav migrations

While these contests were in progress men of another race were finding their way into the devastated lands of the Balkan district in ever-increasing numbers. We cannot yet locate with any certainty the primitive home of the Slavonic race. The Slavonic language belongs to the Aryan or Indo-European family of languages, but the early history of it is unknown. All that is certain is that Slavs began to drift into the Empire from beyond the Danube in the third century in the same way that Teutons came into Gaul from beyond the Rhine. The word "slav" or "slave" appears to be derived either from the root *slovo* (a word) and so to mean "the man who speaks intelligibly," or from a

root *slava*, meaning "glory". But so many people of this race passed into the hands of German tribes as captives in war that the word slave, originally a title of honour, became the name for an "unfree" man.

The Slav migrations, at first insignificant, gradually grew larger, as the weakness of the Empire and the desire to escape from the Avar yoke at once tempted and drove them across the Danube. They came into the Balkan Peninsula, not as the Ostrogoths or Visigoths had come, to ravage and depart, but to settle there as permanent occupiers of the land. They were a savage people, primitive alike in their methods of agriculture and war. They settled in small communities, and carried on a constant guerilla war with the Roman authorities. It was impossible to dislodge them from their shelters among the forests and mountains; if a body of them were lured into the open and exterminated, the successful army might be assailed among the woods by an ambushed foe armed with poisoned darts. So at last, in all the lands from Belgrade to Adrianople, and from the mouth of the Danube to the frontiers of Greece, the Latin language gave place to the Slavonic, and the Roman Empire in the east was cut off by a new barrier from her ancient provinces in the west.

CHAPTER VII

BENEDICT OF NURSIA AND COLUMBAN

AT about the same time that Justinian was drawing up his Code of Roman Law among the splendours of Constantinople, a lonely monk on an Italian mountain was drawing up the rule that was destined to regulate the monastic life of Western Europe for seven hundred years.

Monasticism had its earliest home in the east, where, at the end of the fourth century, Basil of Cappadocia drew up a body of regulations for the life of the monasteries. The monastic idea gradually spread to the west, and in the dark days of the break-up of the Roman civilisation of Gaul and Italy many men sought refuge in the austerities of the religious life, either in small communities or as hermits in complete isolation. Among all these men one name stands conspicuous—that of Benedict of Nursia.

Early life of Benedict

He was born about the year 480, just after the accession of Odoacer to the kingship of Italy. The little town of Nursia, which was his birthplace, lay under the shadow of the Apennines, about twenty miles from Spoleto. His parents were in a good position, and were able to give their son an education at Rome,

whither he was sent while still a boy. Shocked and startled by the wickedness of the city, he determined after a time to abandon his studies and adopt the monastic life. Accompanied by his nurse, he set out in search of a deserted place where he might give himself to meditation and prayer, and after staying for a time at Efida he fled secretly across the hills to Subiaco, where he met a monk named Romanus, who admitted him to the monastic order and took him to a cave on the hillside where he stayed for three years hidden from the eyes of men. Here Benedict passed through a time of contest, resisting with difficulty the allurements of the world that he had forsaken. On one occasion, in his determination to conquer unholy desires, he is said to have plunged naked into a thicket of thorns and nettles and a beautiful old legend tells how, when St. Francis of Assisi visited the monastery seven hundred years after, the thorn bushes suddenly turned into roses.

Gradually the fame of the young hermit spread throughout the district, and the monks of the neighbouring monastery of Varia requested him to become their abbot. A short experience served to show that his rule was too strict for them, and he returned for a time to his home in the wilderness.

Monte Cassino, 528

But now from all parts of Italy men who desired to enter the monastic life flocked to him, so that before long there were no less than twelve monasteries around Subiaco under his rule. About the year 528, moved by a desire for greater solitude, and partly also by the opposition of some of the neighbouring clergy, Benedict, with

a few friends, left Subiaco and travelled southwards to Monte Cassino, the celebrated hill about half-way between Rome and Naples that was destined to become the centre of the Benedictine monastic movement. It is characteristic of the confusion of the times that the little party of monks found, on their arrival, that the peasants still offered sacrifice to Apollo at an altar on the hillside. This altar Benedict destroyed, erecting in its place a Christian church.

For fifteen years Benedict remained at Monte Cassino, and many are the miracles recorded in the life of St. Benedict by Gregory the Great, which is our chief source of information about him. One of the most interesting episodes in Gregory's life is the interview between the saint and the great Gothic warrior Totila. Totila first put the powers of the holy man to the test by sending his sword-bearer, disguised in his armour, and attended by his body-servants, to the abbot, who promptly penetrated the disguise and sent the sword-bearer back to his master.

Meeting of Benedict and Totila

"Then, in his own person, the same Totila approached the man of God, but when he saw him sitting afar off he did not dare to approach him, but cast himself on the ground. Then, when the man of God had twice or thrice said to him 'Rise,' but still he did not dare to raise himself from the earth, Benedict the servant of Jesus Christ condescended to approach the prostrate king and cause him to rise. He rebuked him for his past deeds, and in a few words told him all that should come to pass, saying:—

Much evil hast thou done,
Much evil art thou doing,
Now at length cease from sin.
Thou shalt enter Rome;
Thou shalt cross the sea,
Nine years shalt thou reign,
In the tenth shalt thou die.

When he heard these words, the king, vehemently terrified, asked for his prayers, and withdrew; and from that time forward he was less cruel than aforetime. Not long afterwards he entered Rome, and crossed to Sicily. But in the tenth year of his reign by the judgment of Almighty God, he lost his kingdom with his life." [1]

Soon after this meeting, in 543, Benedict died, leaving his monastery of Monte Cassino as a kind of beacon-light shining through the darkness and confusion of the years that followed. The rule that Benedict drew up for his monks was adopted by other monasteries till it became, and remained for hundreds of years, the monastic rule for all the monks of the west.

The *Regula* of St. Benedict

Up to this time the monasteries of Western Europe had adopted rules from the east, but had been very lax in discipline. Benedict's *Regula* provided a uniform system of monastic life, strict enough to curb the hot passions and self-will of the time, yet not so strict as to be impossible to enforce. Benedict himself describes them as "a school of Divine service, in which nothing too heavy or rigorous will be established". The two central principles of the *Regula* are labour and obedience. Every monk must spend seven hours a day in

[1] Hodgkin, *Italy and Her Invaders*, iv., 489.

manual labour and two hours in reading. He must also yield prompt and willing obedience to the commands of the abbot, who, however, was not an absolute monarch over his little realm, since he was obliged to consult the monks in chapter about all questions of importance affecting the monastery. On the death of an abbot, his successor was to be elected by the monks. Every monastery was to have its own mill, bakery and gardens, so that the monks would not be obliged to depend on the outside world for supplies. Hospitality was to be offered freely to strangers and to the poor. "Let every stranger be received," says the rule, "as though he were Christ Himself, for it is Christ Himself who shall one day say to us, 'I was a stranger, and ye took Me in'." Absolute community of goods existed within the monastery, every monk being obliged, on admission, to renounce all private property.

The monks were recruited from two sources. There were, first, the children entrusted by their parents to the monastery; and, secondly, the men of mature age who sought shelter in monastic life from the troubles and temptations of the world. According to Benedict's rule, these candidates were to be subjected to severe tests and a year of probation as novices before they were admitted to membership. Once admitted, they bound themselves by the strictest vows to remain for life in the monastic order.

The rules regulate the life of the monks in every detail. Seven times a day they were to gather in the chapel for services, which consisted largely of Psalms chanted by the monks. At meals, which were simple,

but adequate, each monk served in turn. They slept, not in separate cells, but in one long dormitory, and by the rules of the order were to sleep in their day-clothes and shoes, and to train themselves to do with very little sleep.

So completely did the rule of St. Benedict supersede all other monastic rules in Western Europe that Charles the Great, two hundred and fifty years later, ordered a careful inquiry to be made as to whether there were any monks in his dominions who observed any other rule than that of St. Benedict. And later monastic rules, such as those of Cluny in the tenth century, or of Citeaux in the twelfth, were only attempts to interpret, in relation to the needs of later times, the *Regula* of the Father of Western monasticism.

The age that followed the death of Benedict was the great missionary age of Western monasticism.

Irish missions

It would be impossible to tell in detail the story of the labours of the monks who carried the Christian faith to the Teutonic and Slavonic peoples of Western Europe. One of the greatest of them, Columbán, may serve as a type for the rest. In the sixth and seventh centuries Ireland became a great centre of literary culture and of missionary effort. Its schools helped to keep alive the study of the great Latin authors, whose works were in danger of being forgotten, and its missionaries went out into all lands of Western Europe.

Columban, 543-615

Columban was born in Ireland in the same year that Benedict died at Monte Cassino. He was educated in the liberal arts of grammar, rhetoric and geometry, and fled to monastic life to escape the allurements of the

world. He went first to Bangor and then, with twelve monks as his companions, to Gaul, where, finding religion and morality at a low ebb, he set himself to the task of reviving them. He then settled in Burgundy under King Gontram, who gave him a disused castle on the site of an old Roman town at Luxeuil, in the forest country of the Vosges mountains. There a great monastery grew up, over which Columban exercised stern discipline. His rule was much stricter than that of St. Benedict—too strict, indeed, to be kept by any but an elect few.

Columban's Irish customs soon brought him into contest with the Bishops of Gaul, and to this was added a contest with Brunhilda and her grandson, who had succeeded Gontram in 593 as king in Burgundy. As a result he was expelled from Luxeuil. After visiting the kings of Neustria and Austrasia he determined to undertake the directly missionary work to which he had long been drawn and settled at Bregentz among the still heathen Alemanni. His chief helper was Gall —the apostle of Swiss Christianity and founder of the far-famed monastery of St. Gall. The methods of the missionaries were not those best calculated to avert opposition. We read of their throwing the idols of the people into the lake and even burning down the temples. They were reduced to living on such fruits and fish as they could find for themselves. Obliged at last to leave Alemannia, Columban crossed the Alps into Italy, and found his way to the Court of Agilulf, the Lombard king, whose wife, Theodelinda of Bavaria, had already done much to bring Christianity to the Lom-

Bobbio

bards. Agilulf gave Columban some land at Bobbio in the Apennines; and there he built a monastery which became a great missionary centre for the conversion of the Lombards from Arianism. In his old age he left Bobbio to pass his closing days in solitude at Trebbia, and there he died in 615.

Columban's rule gradually gave place in the monasteries he had founded to the milder and more practicable rule of St. Benedict, and the three great monasteries of Luxeuil, St. Gall and Bobbio remained for long as centres of light and learning in Burgundy, Switzerland and Northern Italy. From Luxeuil the monastic system spread into Neustria, and a number of daughter monasteries grew up, of which Jumièges and Remiremont are the most famous.

CHAPTER VIII

THE RISE OF MOHAMMEDANISM

IN an earlier chapter we have traced the history of the Empire to the accession of Heraclius in 610. The new Emperor succeeded to an Empire that seemed on the verge of dissolution. The Slavs were pouring across the Balkans and the Persians had carried their attacks into the heart of Asia Minor. To meet these dangers Heraclius had an army disorganised by mismanagement, an empty treasury and a corrupt body of officials. Under these circumstances it is not strange that for the first ten years of his reign he could do little to make headway against the invaders. Disaster followed disaster. In 613 Damascus fell, and in the following year the capture of Jerusalem by the Persian king, Chosroes, sent a thrill of horror over Christendom. Two years later Egypt fell, almost without resistance, into the hands of the Persians. So hopeless did the prospect appear that Heraclius is said to have considered the plan of moving the capital of the Empire to Carthage. But the rumour of his intentions roused the people of Constantinople to new energy. A kind of crusade was proclaimed by the clergy, who offered the wealth of the Church to equip the armies of the

Heraclius, 610-641

Empire. Most important of all, Heraclius resolved no longer to entrust the war to his generals, but to assume supreme command himself. After patching up a treaty with the Avars, who had actually penetrated within forty miles of Constantinople itself, Heraclius started for the east, where in six years of strenuous warfare he proved himself the greatest general of his age. It is impossible to tell in detail the story of Heraclius' campaigns, which closed with a great victory at Nineveh and the sack of Chosroes' palace near Ctesiphon. Meanwhile, in 626, the Avars, acting as allies of the Persians, besieged Constantinople, which was splendidly defended by Bonus the patrician and by the Roman fleet, which guarded the Bosphorus and so prevented the Persians from sending help to their allies. In 628 Heraclius came home in triumph, bringing peace to the Empire and the spoils of Jerusalem, including the "True Cross," which the Persians had been compelled to surrender.

Campaigns in Asia, 622-627

But while Persia and the Empire were fighting out their long contest, a new power was rising in the east, which was destined to sweep both away. In 570, five years after the death of Justinian, and two years after the Lombard invasion of Italy, Mohammed was born, at Mecca, an important commercial town in Southern Arabia.

Birth and early life of Mohammed, 570-620

The Arabs of this district had attained to a certain measure of civilisation, and lived under a strict system of tribal law. Their religion was a kind of polytheism, each tribe having its own tutelary deities. A supreme God (*Allah*) was vaguely conceived of behind these

ribal gods, but the whole religious system was effete nd had little influence over conduct or life.

Mohammed's family was a poor one, but at the age f twenty-four he entered commercial life as partner vith a widow named Khadija, whom he shortly afterwards married. Through some relatives of his wife ie came into contact with a body of religious reformers, he "Hanifs," who sought for the secret of holiness of ife in the rejection of polytheism and complete submission (*Islam*) to the will of Allah.

Influenced by them, he began to spend long periods n prayer and meditation, till at length he became conscious of a mission to teach the truths he had learned o the men of his city. His teaching was received vith bitter hostility, and those who avowed themselves his followers were persecuted and in some cases driven out of the city. At last Mohammed resolved on a lecisive step, and in 622, having sent his followers on before him, he fled to Medina. This is the celebrated "Heriga" or Flight of Mohammed, from which the followers of the prophet date the rise of the new religion. At Medina the new prophet soon found himself undisputed master of the city, and organised a political commonwealth under laws drawn up by him. His system was designed to bind together all who accepted it in the closest bonds of union, and to sever them from the unbelieving world by a great gulf. He borrowed something from Judaism, and something from the corrupt forms of Christianity with which he had come in contact in Southern Arabia. But the fundamental article of his creed—the unity of God—he had

The "Heriga," 622

learned from the Hanifs. With them it was a truth for quiet meditation, but in the hands of the prophet it became the war-cry of a new contest that shook the Arab world to its foundations. In December, 623, Mohammed and his followers won the battle of Bekr over a force of Arabs from Mecca, and from that time the external history of Mohammedanism is the history of an advancing tide of conquest that swept over all the east, rolled as a devastating wave over the provinces of Egypt and North Africa, and was checked at last in the west only by the barrier of the Pyrenees and the sword of Charles Martel.

Progress of Mohammedanism

Before Mohammed died, in 632, all Arabia was under his sway. His successor, or "Khalifa," Abu Bekr, after suppressing a rebellion among the Arab followers of the prophet, launched two great armies against the Persians and the Empire.

Persia, 641

The conquest of Persia was rapid and complete. By the end of 641 all the lands over which the Persian king had ruled passed under the sway of the Moslem power. In the same year Egypt was overrun and absorbed, almost without resistance, in the ever-growing territories of the Arab conquerors.

Syria, 634

Meanwhile the invasion of Syria, checked for a few months by the forces of the Empire, went forward under the leadership of the fierce leader Khaled, the "Sword of God". In 634 the invaders won the terrific battle of Yermuk, almost exterminating a force of eighty thousand Imperial troops. Damascus was sacked next year, and Heraclius took the field in person, only to find himself helpless against the fierce fanaticism of the new foe.

While these conquests were in progress, the Khalifa died and was succeeded by Omar, the greatest of all the successors of the prophet. Under his wise rule the work of conquest went on. Antioch fell in 637, and in the same year Jerusalem surrendered. So great was the veneration of the Moslems for the city that they accounted second only to Mecca in sacredness, that Omar crossed the desert expressly to receive its surrender in person. On the site of the Temple he built the great mosque that still bears his name. With unusual toleration he granted to the Christians the control of the Holy Places. Jerusalem, 637

Heraclius lived to see the whole province of Mesopotamia overrun by Saracen[1] hordes and the seaport of Cæsarea captured. He died in 641, just before the fall of Alexandria and the beginning of the attack on Asia Minor.

After a short period of confusion, Heraclius was succeeded by his grandson Constantinus, or Constans as the Western chroniclers call him. During his boyhood the course of Saracen conquest went on, though more slowly. Alexandria was recaptured by the Empire, and recaptured again and partly destroyed by the Moslems. Part of North Africa fell into their hands. They also began to develop a navy which gradually grew large enough to dispute the mastery of the Mediterranean with the Imperial fleet. They won a great victory in a naval engagement off the coast of Lycia in 652, the Emperor himself only escaping with difficulty. But Constantinus, 641-668

[1] The name Saracen, given by Roman writers to the Arabs, is derived from an Arabic word *sharki*, meaning eastern.

soon after this the Empire secured a respite through the outbreak of civil war between two rival candidates for the Kaliphate—Muavia of Syria and Ali of Mesopotamia.

Some years passed before the Saracen conquests were resumed. During this time Constantinus made a last attempt to reorganise the sadly diminished provinces of the Empire, now consisting of Asia Minor, the western part of North Africa, a strip of country round the coast of the Balkan Peninsula and some parts of Italy. Constantinus spent the last six years of his life in Italy and Sicily, trying to restore the prestige of the Empire in the West. After a successful campaign in Southern Italy he settled at Syracuse, within accessible reach of North Africa, where, in 663, the Saracens renewed their attacks on the Empire. Before his death, in 668, Asia Minor was also suffering from their ravages. For eight years Constantine Pogonatus (the bearded), who succeeded, carried on a struggle with the invaders—the most notable episode of the war being a great siege of Constantinople by the Saracens, in 673, which ended in their disastrous defeat. The only other event of note in the reign of this Emperor was the arrival in the Balkan Peninsula of a new body of invaders, the Bulgarians. They were a tribe of Hunnish race, but they soon began to unite with the Slav tribes who were already settled in the district into which they came, and gradually lost their Hunnish language and characteristics.

Constantine "Pogonatus," 668-678

On his death, in 685, Constantine was succeeded by his son Justinian, a youth of seventeen, who was en-

Justinian, 685-695

ouraged by a successful attack on the Bulgarians, and y the internal feuds that now divided the Moslem world, o attempt to reconquer Syria. The campaign proved complete failure, and Justinian developed into a loodthirsty and cruel tyrant. Finally a palace revolt rove him from the throne and plunged the Empire nto twenty years of complete chaos.

Meanwhile the tide of Moslem conquest rolled on. In 698 Carthage finally fell, and the whole of North Africa passed under the sway of the Saracens. The province had long been divided by religious controversies, and had already been harried by the Vandals, but the ruins that still remain along the coast of North Africa suffice to show how rich and prosperous the great cities that fringed the shore of the Mediterranean had been in the days when Rome dwelt secure and unchallenged.

Moslem Conquest of North Africa, 698

Fifteen years later, Sardinia fell into the hands of the Saracens, and Cappadocia and Pontus were overrun in the following years. The doom of the Empire seemed inevitable, and an expedition was already marching against Constantinople when Leo the Isaurian, a general in the Roman army, won the Imperial throne, and began the struggle that was destined to preserve Constantinople for centuries as the great bulwark of Europe against the followers of the prophet.

A little before this check in the east the Saracens had won their last great success in the west. For a century the Visigothic kingdom in Spain had been crumbling into decay. Originally Arian, the Visigothic kings had now become stern champions of orthodoxy, and Jews and Arians alike suffered bitter persecutions.

Spain, 710

About the year 710 the storm of Moslem invasion broke on the disorganised and enfeebled kingdom. A vast horde of Arabs and Moors, landing at the spot (Gibraltar) that still bears the name of their leader, Tarik (Gebel Tarik = the hill of Tarik), smote the last Gothic king, Roderic, in a great battle on the banks of the Guadelete, and within three years all Spain, excepting the mountainous districts of the North, had passed into their hands. A land that impotent sovereigns, fanatical clergy, turbulent nobles and down-trodden serfs had left helpless in its hour of need, was now destined, under the rule of great Moslem chiefs, to become a centre of art and learning and industry.

Except for Italy and Greece, and the lands fringing the Balkan Peninsula, the whole of the coast-line of the Mediterranean had now passed under the sway of the Mohammedan power. In the east the battlements o Constantinople still frowned defiance across the Bosphorus, and in the west the strong nations beyond the Pyrenees were ready to dispute, in one great day of battle, the further advance of the crescent flag.

The menace of this great advance of Moslem power awakened among the still unconquered peoples of Northern Europe a new sense of common interest. Christianity itself was now in danger, and watching for some champion to arise to organise the forces of resistance. Around such a champion there would inevitably gather all the associations of the Roman Imperial idea. So in less than a hundred years after the Saracen conquest of Spain, Charles the Great was crowned in the great basilica of Rome, and the Holy Roman Empire began.

CHAPTER IX

THE LOMBARDS IN ITALY AND THE RISE OF THE PAPACY

WE left Italy cleared of her Gothic invaders and ruled by Imperial officers. But in reality much of Northern Italy had become a depopulated desert, whose empty and uncultivated plains were only broken by an occasional garrison town. Into these ownerless territories there came, in 568, a new tribe of barbarian immigrants, the Lombards. Among the various Teutonic tribes they had been almost the last to move southward, and for nearly a century had occupied the lands along the Danube adjoining those of the Ostrogoths and the Gepidæ. Their name of Lombards (*Langobardi*) was probably derived from the long beards that gave a ferocious aspect to these fierce warriors.[1] A detachment of them fought as mercenaries under Narses in 552, so gaining their earliest knowledge of Italy; and fifteen years later, after assisting the Avars to exterminate the Gepidæ, the whole tribe moved south under its king, Alboin, and poured almost unopposed into the plains of Northern Italy. One by one the Roman garrison towns surrendered, till Ravenna alone

Coming of the Lombards, 568

[1] Other derivations have been suggested, from *barta*, an axe, or *bord*, a shore, so making the name mean "men of the long axe" or "long-shoremen".

Death of Alboin, 572

remained as an Imperial stronghold. But the new Lombard kingdom had scarcely been organised when Alboin died. The story of his death is dramatically told by Paul the Deacon, the historian of the Lombards. After the defeat of the Gepidæ, Alboin had the skull of the Gepid King, Cunimund, whose daughter Rosamund he had married, made into a drinking bowl, and in a drunken carouse in Verona, in the year 572, he called for Rosamund and bade her drink joyfully from her father's head. Enraged by the insult, Rosamund procured the assassination of the King.

Lombard settlements in Central Italy

Deprived of their leader, the Lombards broke up into smaller parties, each under a chief, and spread farther and farther into Central and Southern Italy. They made no attempt at systematic conquest, but settled wherever fancy led them, so that Central Italy gradually became dotted over with small Lombard settlements, intermixed with those of the native Italians. The native population was probably spared and reduced to a condition of serfdom. Farther south the two great Duchies of Spoleto and Beneventum grew up. Only a few fragments of Italy remained in the hands of the Empire, chiefly along the coast, which possessed no attractions to people like the Lombards unaccustomed to a seafaring life. These scattered possessions of the Empire were ruled by the Exarch of Ravenna, though the actual extent of his authority over Rome or Naples must have been very slight.

Authari, 583-590

It would be a tedious task to trace in detail the history of the Lombard kingdom, which was re-established in 583 by the election of Authari. His marriage

vith Theodelinda, the daughter of the Duke of Bavaria, rought the Lombards in touch with Christian in-

uences, and about the year 590 the Lombard king, Agilulf, who had succeeded to the kingdom and the

hand of Theodelinda, was baptised with many of his followers.

Agilulf, 590-615

The first half of the seventh century was a time of prosperity and expansion for the Lombard kingdom. District after district was won from the Empire, which was too much occupied in Eastern wars to be able to defend its provinces in the West. Agilulf, who reigned for twenty-five years, was succeeded, after a short interval, by another great ruler, Rotharis, who is known in history as the author of the first Code of Lombard

Rotharis, 636-652

Laws, drawn up "with the counsel and consent of our advisers, and of all our armed forces". Rotharis' code shows little trace of Roman influence; evidently the process of fusion between the races had hardly yet begun.

While the Lombards were settling in Northern Italy, Rome was passing slowly out of the hand of the Empire and into the hands of her new rulers, the Popes.

Rise of the Papacy

From the first beginning of the Christian Church, Rome, as the capital of the Empire, and as the Church associated with the two great apostles Peter and Paul, gave to its bishop a position of special honour among the bishops of the west. And in the centuries that followed several causes tended to increase the importance of the Roman See. In the Arian controversy of the fourth century the bishop of Rome had been the strongest champion of orthodoxy in the west, and when Constantine moved the capital of his Empire to Constantinople the bishop became the most important figure in the old capital. In the east the bishops of the three great cities of Constantinople, Antioch and

Alexandria were granted the title of Patriarch[1] and a certain primacy of dignity over the other dioceses of the east. In the west the only other bishop whose position could at all rival that of the bishop of Rome was the bishop of Carthage, and when the Vandal invasion swept much of the organised Church life of North Africa away, the Roman See became undisputed head of the younger Christian Churches that were gradually growing up in Illyria, Gaul, Britain and elsewhere.

At this period the bishop of Rome may be regarded as exercising four kinds of authority. As bishop he exercised immediate control over the city of Rome; as metropolitan he superintended the seven bishops whose dioceses lay around the city—the seven "cardinal-bishops," as they were afterwards called; as patriarch he had a somewhat undefined authority within the whole of the Prefecture of Italy; while as the senior Bishop of Western Europe he claimed a general right to intervene in all Church matters where the interests of the whole Church were affected. The emperors of the fifth century, ruling either at Constantinople or Ravenna, were not unwilling to concede large powers of jurisdiction to the Roman bishops, while keeping the Patriarchs of Constantinople more strictly under their own authority.

The decline of Antioch and Alexandria gradually left the Patriarch of Constantinople as the senior bishop in the east, and in the 28th canon of the Council of Chalcedon an attempt was made to place the two Sees

[1] The Bishop of Jerusalem was also accorded the title and status of "Patriarch," but without any defined area of jurisdiction.

of Constantinople and Rome in a position of equal dignity. But this canon Rome declined to accept, and the long contest between the Eastern and Western Churches may be said to have begun from that point.

Leo the Great, 440-461

Leo the Great (440-461) was, among all the early bishops of Rome, the one who did most to extend the authority of the Roman See, both by the vigour with which he asserted the authority of the bishop of that see as the successor of St. Peter, and by the ability with which he intervened in theological controversies, both in the east, where he led the battle against Eutychianism,[1] and in Spain, where he supported the orthodox party against the Priscillianists.[1] Leo was incomparably the greatest figure in the ecclesiastical world of his time, and though his successors were men of less striking character they kept most of the ground that he had won.

The Pope and the Empire

With the Arian Theodoric the bishops of Rome generally kept on good terms. We have already seen the only notable exception in the case of John I. whose embassy to Constantinople ended so disastrously for himself and the peace of the world.

[1] The Eutychians were the followers of Eutyches, a monk of the fifth century who asserted that our Lord's human nature was absorbed in the Divine. His opinions were condemned at the Council of Chalcedon, but were revived in the later Monophysite and Monothelite heresies—heresies that taught that our Lord has only one nature, or one will. The Priscillianists were a sect that arose in Spain in the fourth century, partly as a reaction against the worldly tendencies of the Church. Their doctrinal teaching appears to have been a sort of Gnosticism. They were ruthlessly stamped out by a policy of persecution, in which their leader, Priscillian, suffered death.

The Pope,[1] as we may now begin to call him, was elected by the "clergy, Senate and people of Rome," but as elections had not infrequently led to faction fights and disputes, Theodoric tried to introduce a more satisfactory method of appointment in 526 by nominating Felix as Pope; and Felix, in his turn, issued a letter to the "clergy and senate" nominating Boniface, the Archdeacon, as his successor. A period of confusion and party contests followed, and while this was going on the Gothic rule in Italy came to an end, and the Imperial authority again became supreme. For some time the Popes were the nominees of the faction in power at the Byzantine Court. Vigilius (537-555) and Pelagius I. (555-560) were imposed on Rome by the emperors, and they were followed by three insignificant Popes, and then by the restorer of the Papacy, Gregory the Great.

The Pope and the Lombards

By this time the Lombard invasions had profoundly changed the position of the Bishops of Rome towards the Empire. For not only did the presence in Italy of a common foe draw the Pope and the Emperor into friendly relations, but also the Lombards practically cut off the territories around Rome from the Imperial lands round Ravenna, and so threw the Popes on their own resources for defence and organisation.

For centuries the Bishops of Rome had been receiving grants of lands around Rome and elsewhere.

[1] The title "Papa" (father) was originally given to all Bishops, and is now used in the Greek Church for priests (as the title father is used by the Roman Church). It was not till 1076 that the title of Pope was definitely limited by the Western Church to the Bishop of Rome.

"Ever since the restriction of the Eastern Empire had emancipated the ecclesiastical potentate from secular control, the first and most abiding object of his schemes and prayers had been the acquisition of territorial wealth in the neighbourhood of the capital. He had indeed a sort of justification, for Rome, a city with neither trade nor industry, was crowded with poor, for whom it devolved on the bishop to provide" (Bryce). The revenues of this *Patrimonium Petri*, as it was called, were applied not only for the relief of the poor but also for the maintenance of the Pope and his clergy, and it was natural that the idea of territorial sovereignty should grow up in connection with it as soon as Imperial authority had ceased to be more than nominal.

Gregory the Great, 540-604

Gregory the Great came of a noble Roman family and was born about the year 540. While studying for his father's profession of magistrate, Gregory was taught to love religion by the precepts and example of his mother Silvia. When he was only a little over thirty years of age he was appointed by Justin II. as *Prætor Urbis*, an office of great importance and dignity. But on his father's death a few years later, he renounced the secular life, disposed of the considerable sum that he had inherited in founding seven monasteries, and himself became a monk. From austerities that were permanently injuring his health he was rescued by Pope Benedict I., who ordained him as deacon and sent him to Constantinople as his envoy. Gregory stayed some time at Constantinople, and then returned to become abbot of the monastery that he had founded in Rome.

In 590 Pelasius II. died, leaving Rome in dire distress,

with the Lombards ravaging outside the walls, and the plague and famine destroying within. The general instinct turned to Gregory as the man for the hour, and he was unanimously elected, in spite of his own reluctance, as Pope. His first work was to call for a season of repentance, and to institute processional litanies. A monument of these litanies still remains in the name of the Castle of St. Angelo in Rome, for it was said that on the site on which that castle now stands Gregory saw, as the procession went by, the avenging angel sheathing his sword.

Gregory's reforms

The task that lay before the new Pope was a sufficiently discouraging one. As he himself says, the Roman Church was "like an old and violently scattered ship, admitting water on all sides, its timbers rotten, shaken by daily storms, and sounding of wreck". Immediately on his accession he set about the work of internal reform. He regulated the monasteries, placed their business arrangements in the hands of laymen, endeavoured to enforce a rule of celibacy among the secular clergy, wrote a manual of episcopal duties, the *Regula Pastoralis*, which remained for centuries a text-book for all bishops of the West. He also introduced those changes in the method of chanting that are still associated with his name, and established schools of "Gregorian" music in Rome.

He next proceeded to place on a business footing the administration of the "Patrimony of St. Peter," appointing *rectores* or *defensores* to manage the lands that belonged to the see, in Italy, Africa, Gaul and elsewhere. We see from his letters how carefully he supervised the

work of these officers, and how earnestly he tried to guard against oppression or misgovernment on the estates that belonged to the Church. The revenues received from these lands were divided into four equal parts, for the Pope, the clergy, the fabric and services of the churches, and the poor. Gregory's own benevolences were on a colossal scale.

While this work of internal reform was in progress, external affairs claimed the attention of the Pope. The relations between the Emperor and the Pope needed defining, the raids of the Lombards required to be curbed, and the task of evangelising the still heathen parts of Europe awaited fulfilment.

Gregory and the Empire

Gregory's relations with the Empire need not be considered in detail. While recognising the Imperial authority, Gregory guarded jealously the independence of the Church in spiritual things, and more than once he came into collision with Maurice on such questions as the appointment of bishops. These collisions may serve to explain the extraordinary letter of congratulation written by Gregory to Phocas after his cold-blooded murder of Maurice and his children. The relations between the Empire and the Pope were further complicated by a quarrel that arose between John the Patriarch of Constantinople and Gregory, due to the claim made by the former to the title of "universal bishop"—a claim that Gregory passionately resented, but did not succeed in inducing the Patriarch to surrender. Gregory's chosen title for himself—a title ever since borne by the Popes—was "servus servorum Dei".

Gregory and the Lombards

With the Lombards Gregory tried to establish friendly relations. The marriage of Theodelinda gave the Pope a friend at the Lombard Court, but the task of protecting Rome from Lombard ravages was made more difficult by the unwillingness of Romanus, the Exarch of Ravenna, to agree to any peace with the invaders. More than once Agilulf threatened to besiege Rome, and the city was reduced to great distress. But in his letters to the Emperor, Gregory represents the exactions of the Imperial officers as more grievous than even the depredations of the Lombards. The Empire could neither defend Rome nor leave it to itself. However, in 599 Gregory succeeded in bringing about a peace between the Lombard king and the exarch.

It was not only the Lombards from the north who proved a thorn in the side of the Pope. The Dukes of Spoleto and Beneventum were troublesome neighbours, and the exarch practically left to Gregory the task of organising the defence of the Imperial territories in the south of Italy. "Gregory appointed civil and military officers himself. He nominated Constantius tribune of Naples when that city was hard pressed by the Lombards, and entrusted the administration of Nepi, in Southern Tuscany, to Leontius. He made peace on his own account with the Lombards when they were at war with the Imperial representative, and asserted that his own station was higher than that of the exarch." All this greatly enhanced the prestige of the Papacy, and laid the foundation of those territorial claims that were destined to play so large a part in the subsequent history of the Roman Church.

Gregory's missions

Gregory was also a zealous promoter of the missionary activity of the Church. His most notable achievement in this direction was the mission to England, which had lapsed into paganism after the Anglo-Saxon conquest. It was while he was Abbot and Papal Secretary under Pelagius that the well-known incident is recorded to have occurred of his meeting the Northumbrian children exposed for sale in the Forum of Rome. He is said to have actually started for England when the outcry of the Roman people compelled the Pope to recall him. Eight years after he became Pope, he sent Augustine on the mission to England, the history of which belongs to English rather than European history.

Gregory's pastoral care extended over the whole of Western Europe. He wrote letters of congratulation and good advice to Reccared, the Visigothic king, on his renunciation of Arianism at the Council of Toledo in 589; he corresponded in friendly fashion with the Bishops of Gaul and their Frankish sovereigns; he tried to wean the Irish bishops, by peaceable discussion, from the heretical opinions that they held.

The Papacy in the seventh century

Gregory died in 604, having, in his fifteen years of rule, raised the "Apostolic See" to a new position of authority in Europe, and laid the foundation for those claims that reached their full expression nearly five hundred years later.

For more than a century after the death of Gregory the Papal chair was filled by men of no special importance, nominees, for the most part, of the emperor or his exarch. The only important exception was Martin I,

(649-653), whose opposition to the efforts of Constantinus to induce Monothelites and defenders of orthodoxy to live together in peace brought him into collision with the Emperor, who lured him to Constantinople, and there arraigned him on a charge of political intrigue, and had him deposed and imprisoned till his death a few months later.

The anarchy that followed the death of Constantine V. once more threw on the Popes the work of providing for their own defence, and so helped to inaugurate a new period of advance in the powers of the Papacy. This new chapter in the history of Rome opens with the election of Gregory II. to the Papal chair in 715.

The Lombard kingdom

The latter half of the seventh century is also a period of comparative unimportance in the history of the Lombards. Rotharis was succeeded by his son, who was shortly afterwards murdered, and a nephew of Theodelinda then reigned for ten years, leaving the throne, on his death, to his two sons. Between the two heirs war soon broke out, and Grimoald, Duke of Beneventum, seized the crown and for nearly ten years kept the Lombard territories intact, in spite of the attempts of Constantinus to re-establish the Imperial authority. On his death the Lombard nobles summoned back one of the brothers whom Grimoald had chased from the kingdom, Berthani, whose seventeen years of rule were a time of peace and good government in the kingdom.

His son Cunibert, who succeeded on his death in 688, was disturbed by rebellions among his nobles, and a

time of civil wars between rival claimants to the throne lasted till the accession of Liutprand in 712.

Thus early in the eighth century the Papacy and the Lombard crown passed almost simultaneously into stronger hands, and the history of Italy becomes once more full of interest.

CHAPTER X

THE MAYORS OF THE PALACE

IN a previous chapter we carried the history of the Frankish kingdom down to the end of the sixth century. After the ferocious record of the rivalries and contests of Brunhilda and Fredegonda the chronicles of the Merovingian kings become a dreary record of ineffective figures that pass over the stage in long succession, decorated with the flowing hair that was the sign of royalty among the Franks, but neither wielding, nor apparently desiring, any real power.

But as the Merovingian kings degenerated their power passed into the hands of a new body of men—the Mayors of the Palace.

The title of *Major Domus* or *Magister Palatii* was borrowed from the old Imperial *régime*. The office grew up naturally as the Frank government became organised. Originally a household officer of the Court, the Mayor of the Palace became, like the Justiciar in Norman England, the king's right-hand man, controlling the administration when the king was at the wars, and watching over the relation of the *leudes* to the crown. Where the supreme power was in the hands of a minor, or of a woman, the power of the mayor was necessarily augmented. From the first there seems to

The *Major Domus*

have been a difference between the Mayors of Neustria and Burgundy, who were the champions of royal authority against the nobles, and those of Austrasia, who appear rather as the champions of the rights of the nobles against the Crown. As a result of this, the mayoralty in Austrasia tended to become an hereditary office, held by the leading noble family of the kingdom, while the Mayor in Neustria is more often than not a man of humble origin raised to power by the favour of the Crown.

Dr. Hodgkin thinks it possible to detect, in the position of the Mayors of Austrasia, the first beginnings of a protest by the Teutonic eastern division of the Frankish kingdom against the claims of the western kingdom of Neustria to be the true centre of the Frankish Empire. It is attractive to think of the great Austrasian Mayors as the earliest champions of German national independence.

Arnulf of Metz, 580-640

The great family with which for centuries the fate of the Frankish kingdoms was destined to be associated first appears in history at the moment when Brunhilda was making her last stand against Clotair, son of Fredegonda. Among the nobles who attached themselves to the cause of Clotair were Pippin, afterwards known as Pippin of Landen, and Arnulf. A year later, the See of Metz falling vacant, the people petitioned for the appointment of Arnulf. Arnulf was still a layman, but he had for some time desired to lay aside secular life and retire into a monastery, as his wife Doda had done, with his consent, some years before. But to this the king would not consent, and as bishop of Metz he

THE ARNOLFING HOUSE

Arnulf, Bishop of Metz,
† 641.

Ansegisel = Begga.

Pippin of Landen,
Mayor of Austrasia,
† 641.

Grimoald,
Mayor of Austrasia,
† 656.

Childebert (whom his father proclaimed as King of Austrasia in 656).

Pleetrudis = Pippin of Heristal, = Alphaida.
† 714.

Grimoald,
† 714.

Theudwald.

Drogo,
† 708.

Charles Martel,
Mayor of the
Three Kingdoms,
719-741.

Carloman,
Mayor of Austrasia,
741-747.

Pippin "the Short,"
Mayor of Neustria, 741-752;
King of the Franks, 752-768.

Charles the Great.

Carloman.

Bertha = Count of Angers.

Roland, Duke of
Brittany.

was retained among the advisers of the Crown, while administering his diocese with self-denying devotion. At last, in 626, his importunities wrested from the young King Dagobert a reluctant consent to his retirement, and he departed, first to the monastery of Remiremont, in the Vosges, and then, with a few companions, to the deeper solitude of Horemburg, where he spent the last three years of his life, rejoicing to undertake the most menial offices.

He left two sons, the younger of whom, Ansegisel, married Pippin's daughter Begga, and was the father of Pippin of Heristal.

Pippin of Landen, 622-639

Pippin of Landen remained in the world of politics from which his friend had fled, and in 622 became Mayor of the Palace in Austrasia, then under the rule of Dagobert as sub-king. Perhaps his control of the young sovereign was over-strict; at all events, when his father's death raised Dagobert to the kingship of the whole Frankish realm, and transferred his capital from Metz to Paris, Pippin seems to have been for some time in practical captivity. Dagobert's death in 638 set him free to return to Austrasia, but in the following year he died, "lamented by all the men of Austrasia".

Grimoald

Pippin left a son, Grimoald, who three years later secured the position of Mayor of Austrasia under Sigibert, in spite of the opposition of many of the Austrasian nobles. In Neustria, where Sigibert's brother was king, his mother appointed a relation of the young king as mayor, and so, for a time, averted the danger of the extension of Austrasian supremacy over Neustria.

In 656 a significant event occurred. In that year Sigibert died, and was succeeded by his son, a boy of eight years old. Grimoald, thinking that the rule of *faineant* kings had lasted long enough, sent the boy away secretly to an Irish monastery, and raised his own son Childebert to the Austrasian throne. But the change was premature. The Austrasian nobles rose in support of the royal house, and Grimoald was carried off to Paris, where Clovis II. was now ruling. There "he was confined in a dungeon and bound with torturing chains; and at length, as he was worthy of death for what he had done to his lord, death finished him with mighty torments".

Grimoald's premature bid for sovereignty seemed for a time to have ruined the prospects of his house, and the next thirty years of Frankish history is a dreary record of confusion and disintegration. The peoples on the frontiers of the Frankish realm began to shake themselves free from the Frankish yoke, and Thuringia, Bavaria and the Wends beyond the Elbe defied the impotent rulers who kept the semblance of authority at Metz or Paris. The only strong man of the time was Ebroin, Mayor of Neustria, whose character, as drawn by the possibly biassed ecclesiastical chroniclers of the time, appears as a compound of cruelty, avarice and ambition. After a few years of his rule the nobles of Neustria, led by Leodegar, Bishop of Autun (whose name is still familiar to us as "St. Leger"), called the Austrasian king to their help and seized Ebroin and his puppet-king. Ebroin was compelled to take monastic vows in the monastery of Luxeuil, and for a time

Ebroin, Mayor of Neustria

Leodegar administered Neustria, till a fresh intrigue sent him to join his late enemy at Luxeuil.

Next year the king died, and three puppet-claimants were set up by different factions. Taking advantage of the confusion, Ebroin escaped from his monastery, and succeeded in securing the office of Mayor of Neustria again, under his old puppet-king, Theuderich. His first act as mayor was to fetch his rival Leodegar from Luxeuil and cause him to be blinded and, a few years later, beheaded, an act of cruelty that helped to earn for the bishop the title of saint.

For seven years longer Ebroin ruled Neustria and Burgundy, keeping down with a firm hand all attempts to dispute his authority. His only serious contest was in 679 when the Austrasian nobles, with Pippin of Heristal, grandson of the old Mayor of Austrasia, at their head, dared the issue of battle with the Neustrian "tyrant"; but they were defeated with cruel slaughter, and their lands laid waste by the victorious Neustrians.

Pippin of Heristal, 681-715

At last, in 681, the murder of Ebroin brought his rule to an end, and opened the way for the ascendency of the Austrasian leader. At the head of a vast host of Austrasians, Pippin of Heristal marched against the Neustrian king and a feeble person whom the Neustrian nobles had chosen as mayor, and at a great battle at Testri put to flight the armies of the Western kingdom and established his authority over the whole Frankish realm.

The battle of Testri is one of the most important turning-points in the history of Western Europe, for it raised to unchallenged supremacy the great Austrasian

family with whose fortunes those of the Frankish kingdom were to be associated for more than three hundred years, till the death of the last Carolingian king, in 987, severed the last link between East and West Francia, and gave to France a new dynasty and a new destiny.

Warned by the fate of his uncle, Pippin wisely contented himself with the substance of power without laying claim to the name of king. He might probably have set up as independent King of Austrasia, where he seems to have been the unchallenged head of the nobles; but he preferred to attempt the harder task of holding the Frankish kingdom together. Making Austrasia the centre of his rule, he set up his sons, as soon as they were old enough, as Mayors of Neustria and Burgundy.

The special task that Pippin set himself was the reduction of the peoples who had taken advantage of the confusion of the period to throw off the Frankish yoke. In a great battle on the northern frontier he defeated Ratbod, the King of Frisia, and compelled him to acknowledge the Frankish overlordship, and, as the price of the marriage of the Frisian king's daughter with his son Grimoald, he compelled him to allow Christian missionaries free access to his people. Turning from the Rhine to the Danube, Pippin reduced the Thuringians, Suabians and Bavarians to subjection, and so re-established the ancient frontiers of the Frankish kingdom.

Where the sword had opened the way the cross followed. In 690 a young Northumbrian monk, Willibrord, moved by missionary zeal, landed with eleven

Willibrord

companions in Frisia, and finding little encouragement there went south, and at Pippin's request settled at Utrecht as a missionary in the West Frisian territory that had lately been ceded to the Franks. With the approval of the Pope, which he went to Rome to secure, he laboured there for six years, and then went again to Rome to be consecrated as Bishop of Utrecht. A long episcopate gave him the opportunity of carrying the Christian faith not only to the Frisians, but also to the Danes in the North and the unevangelised parts of Francia.

Boniface, 718-754

A few years after Willibrord's consecration, another English monk arrived in Rome to offer himself for work among the heathen tribes of Germany. This was Winfried of Crediton, better known by his later name of Boniface. He had made an unsuccessful attempt to gain access to Frisia, and after two years in England returned to the work, and was sent northward by Pope Gregory II. with a general commission to preach in Germany.

In 723, after a strikingly successful mission among the Hessians and Saxons, he returned to Rome and was consecrated as bishop, taking at the same time an oath of allegiance to the Pope which marks an important step in the subjection of Northern Europe to Papal authority.

For thirty years Boniface is the central figure in the history of the German Church, and his influence served to keep that Church in close subjection to Papal authority. He died in 754, slain by some heathen to whom he had gone as a preacher of the Gospel.

"Boniface was statesman and scholar as well as missionary, an able administrator as well as an earnest preacher; and his aim was to civilise as well as to Christianise the heathen of his fatherland. The sanction of the Papal See was almost indispensable for the success of his efforts; for the helpless feebleness of the Merovingian kings and the strong self-assertion of the Carolingians were altogether unfavourable to the growth and development of the Church."

"It is no exaggeration to say that since the days of the great apostle of the Gentiles no missionary of the Gospel has been more eminent in labours, in perils, in self-devotion, and in that tenacity yet elasticity of purpose which never loses sight of its aim, even when compelled to approach it by some other route than that which it proposed to itself originally."

CHAPTER XI

CHARLES MARTEL

Charles Martel, 715-741

FEW things are more striking in the history of the period with which we are dealing than the contrast between the long succession of ineffective and shadowy Merovingians who follow one another on the Frankish throne, and the series of great leaders of the house of St. Arnulf, who for more than a hundred years hold the destinies of Europe in their hands. Even in the declining fortunes of their house, a hundred years later, the Carolingians retained much of the strenuous vigour of their great ancestors, and only when the direct line of succession ended in 987 did the crown of the West Frankish realm fall to another royal house.

Pippin of Heristal ruled over the Franks for twenty-seven years, and had two sons to whom he hoped to hand on the succession. But in 708 Drogo died, leaving two sons, and shortly after, Grimoald was murdered, leaving one little son Theudwald, now eight years of age. Pippin had now to make fresh provision for the future, and he appointed the little Theudwald as heir, with his own wife Plectrudis as regent. But besides his wife Plectrudis, Pippin, who, like most of the Frankish chiefs, retained in his domestic life traces of the earlier polygamous conditions of pre-Christian times, had an-

other wife, Alphaida, by whom he had one son Charles, now a young man, ambitious and stout of heart, and little likely to acquiesce in any arrangement that ousted him from any share in his father's dominions.

A striking drama follows. In 715 Pippin died, and the Merovingian king, now aged fifteen, received as his Mayor of the Palace a child of eight, under the guardianship of an aged and imperious grandmother. Her first step was to seize and imprison Charles; her next to raise an army to meet an insurrection of the Neustrian nobles, who having set up a certain Reginfrid as rival mayor, and allied themselves with the heathen Frisians and Saxons, poured into Austrasia and drove Plectrudis and her grandson into Cologne. In the confusion Charles escaped from prison, and rallied the Austrasian nobles to the support of his house. But Chilperic, King of Neustria, who seems to have had more energy than most of his family, marched against him, and, with the help of old Ratbod of Frisia, defeated him near Cologne. Plectrudis was reduced to purchase peace by the surrender of most of the royal treasures and the acknowledgment of the claims of the Neustrian king. But Charles fell upon the Neustrian army as it went homewards in triumph through the Ardennes, and smote it into headlong retreat at Amblève, the king and his mayor barely escaping with their lives. Next year he broke into Neustria, routed Chilperic at Vincy and chased him to Paris. As the young King of Austrasia had died in the preceding year, Charles now discovered a new puppet-king, Clotair by name, whom he seated on the throne, becoming himself Mayor of the Palace. Then

Successes of Charles

followed the series of great blows that earned for Charles the name of Martel (the hammer). He drove the Saxons beyond the frontiers, wrested West Friesland from Ratbod, and then marched into Neustria. Chilperic and his mayor, Reginfrid, summoned to their aid Eudo of Aquetaine, who had carved out for himself an independent duchy south of the Loire. But Charles, having detached Eudo from the alliance, crushed the Neustrian forces in a last great battle near Soissons. Reginfrid maintained for a time the semblance of resistance, while the Neustrian king made terms with his great enemy, and, Charles' puppet-king having conveniently died, became king of all the Franks, with Charles as mayor of the kingdoms and undisputed master of the Frankish realm.

Einhard, Charles the Great's biographer, has described in a well-known passage the position of these Merovingian kings at this closing period of their history:—

The later Merovingians

"For many years the house of the Merovingians was destitute of vigour and had nothing illustrious about it except the empty name of king. For the rulers of their palace possessed both the wealth and power of the kingdom, bearing the name of mayor, and had charge of all great matters of State. Nothing remained to the king except the name of king, his flowing locks and long beard. He sat on his throne and played at ruling, gave audience to envoys and dismissed them with the answers that he had been taught, or even commanded, to give. The Mayor of the Palace allowed him to live and bear the title of king, but he had nothing of his

own save one estate of small value where he had a home and a small body of servants. When he had to travel, he used a covered cart drawn by oxen and driven by a rustic retainer. In this style he travelled to and fro to his palace or to the annual gatherings of the people. The work of administration and all matters of policy at home and abroad were in the hands of the mayor."

Within a year of the establishment of peace Chilperic died and was succeeded by Theuderich. On his death, about 737, Charles did not trouble to find another Merovingian to fill the vacant throne, but contented himself with dating his official documents "The . . . th year after the death of Theuderich".

The special task that lay before Charles, as before each new mayor at his accession, was the restoration of the authority of the Franks over the outlying parts of the ancient Frank dominions that had lapsed into practical independence in the confusion of the previous period. Relying on the support of his Austrasian warriors, he struck eastward and southward, and restored the old frontiers of the Empire.

Charles and Bavaria

Two provinces in particular claimed his attention. The first of these was Bavaria. Originally occupied by a Teutonic tribe, who had subdued the Celtic Boii and taken possession of their land, the territory was ruled by native chiefs who admitted the overlordship of the Frankish kings, but lived in practical independence. Their relations were naturally close with the Lombards on the other side of the Alps, and we have already seen a Bavarian princess married to the Lombard King Agilulf and helping to extend Christianity among

the Lombards. Several missionaries had begun to evangelise Bavaria—Rupert of Worms, Emmeran of Poictiers and Corbinian. There is a good deal that is obscure in the story of Bavaria in the early part of the eighth century, but about 725 Charles Martel and the Lombard king Liutprand appear to have invaded the country, and a few years later Charles again attacked Bavaria and carried off a Bavarian princess, Swanahild, whom he married after the somewhat vague Frankish fashion, and by whom he had a son, Grifo, who was destined to play a part in the subsequent history. Bavaria appears to have once more accepted the Frankish yoke for a time.

One result of the reassertion of Frankish supremacy in Bavaria was the organisation of the Bavarian Church by the great missionary Bishop Boniface, acting under instructions from Rome.

Aquetaine

Aquetaine had also drifted away from subjection to the Frankish rulers. We have no record of the process by which this province, which retained more than any other part of the Empire of Clovis its ancient Roman character, secured the practical independence to which it had attained by the time of Charles Martel. We have already seen Eudo of Aquetaine taking a share in the war between Neustria and Austrasia that raised Charles to power. After this the relations between the Frankish mayor and the Aquetanian duke were for a time friendly. Aquetaine had need of the support and friendship of the Franks, for the duchy was menaced by a danger with which it was not able to cope alone.

The Moslem conquerors of Spain had contrived to

make their yoke tolerable to the inhabitants of the country, whom they left in undisturbed possession of their lands and religion, subject to a produce and poll-tax, from the latter of which all Moslems were exempt. But while the subject people accepted their fate with resignation, quarrels broke out between the tribes of the conquerors, and Spain shared the general tendency to disintegration that throughout the Moslem world followed on the great period of conquest. The only way to check these internal contests was to continue the work of conquest, and accordingly the leaders of the Spanish Moors began to penetrate beyond the Pyrenees and menace the Duchy of Aquetaine. In 720 they captured the town of Narbonne and overran all the province of Septimania. But Eudo compelled them to retreat from before Toulouse, and so gave the first check to the advance of Moslem conquest in the West. Five years later we find them advancing as far as Autun, in Burgundy. For Eudo had now become involved in a struggle with Charles, due probably to an attempt of the Frankish ruler to reassert his overlordship over the province. Eudo had even gone so far as to give his daughter in marriage to an Arab chief.

The Moslems in Spain

Open war broke out in 731, and Aquetaine had already been ravaged by the Austrasian army, when the domestic feud was suddenly stilled by the tempest of Moslem invasion that burst through the barrier of the Pyrenees. Eudo's son-in-law was slain by the Moorish leader Abdurrahman, and in the spring of 732 he reached the Garonne and laid siege to Bordeaux. Eudo, advancing to the relief of the city, was defeated and

his army nearly destroyed. The Moslems marched on towards the Loire, while Eudo fled to Charles to implore his aid.

The Battle of Tours, 732

The crisis was grave, for only a Frankish victory could save Gaul from falling a prey to the Saracens. But Charles and his Austrasian warriors, reinforced probably by levies from the other races under his rule, met the Moslem host between Poictiers and Tours, where Charles took up a strong position and awaited the assault of the enemy. After seven days of reconnoitring, Abdurrahman ordered a frontal attack, and the Moslem soldiers threw themselves against the serried ranks of the Franks, much as the Normans long after charged the Saxon lines on the slopes of Senlac. But the Franks stood firm and with their long swords worked havoc in the ranks of the enemy. Night fell on the scene of carnage, and when the Frank army marched out next day to renew the fight they found the Saracen camp deserted and the enemy fled, leaving rich spoils for the Austrasian warriors to bear home with them.

Three years later Eudo died, and Charles was obliged to march into Aquetaine to secure from his son Hunold the recognition of the Frank overlordship. Then in 737 war again broke out between the Saracens and the Franks. Through the treachery of a certain Duke Maurontus, of Provence, the Moslems gained possession of the two great cities of Arles and Avignon. Charles, busy with a war in the North, sent an army under the command of a half-brother, Childebrand. He himself followed soon after, in time to share in the capture of

Avignon and the defeat of the invaders in a great battle near Narbonne. According to one chronicler, Liutprand, King of the Lombards, sent a detachment of troops to aid in this struggle, which went on for a year longer and ended in winning back all Provence from the Moslems.

This campaign closed the warlike activities of the great Mayor of the Palace. Though not much over fifty years of age, his health began to fail, and such fighting as needed to be done against Saxons or Frisians he left to his two sturdy sons.

Charles and the Pope

The most important incident of these years was the appeal, renewed more than once, from Pope Gregory III. for Charles' help against the Lombards. Liutprand was a trusted friend and ally of the Frankish ruler, and for this reason alone it is easy to understand Charles' reluctance to embark on a campaign against him. It is difficult to know what to make of the story that Gregory offered Charles the office of consul as the price of his intervention. If he really did so, he offered what he had no right to give.

Another aspect of the policy of Charles deserves attention. In spite of his championship of Christendom on the field of Tours and his support of Boniface and his colleagues, Charles fares ill at the hands of later ecclesiastical chroniclers. The reason for this is that he is accused of having robbed the Church in order to reward his followers. The facts are that, in the confusion of the earlier times, the Church had acquired a very large amount of land and that Charles had not enough Crown lands left to reward his officers in the

usual way by grants of land. Charles therefore resorted to the expedient of resuming Crown lands that had been alienated into ecclesiastical hands, or appointing his warriors as prelates or abbots so that they might draw the revenues of religious foundations. It is interesting to see emerging already the problem that was destined for ages to disturb the peace of Germany, till the final secularisation of Church lands in the Napoleonic time laid it at last to rest.

Charles died on 22nd October, 741, and was buried at the great Church of St. Denis near Paris, having ruled the Franks for twenty-five years.

CHAPTER XII

PIPPIN, KING OF THE FRANKS

IN accordance with the Frank law of inheritance the dominions of Charles fell, at his death, to his two sons, Carloman and Pippin, the former taking Austrasia and the dependent territories of the East, while Neustria and Burgundy fell to Pippin. But so close was the accord between the two brothers that they practically acted as joint rulers of the whole Frank kingdom. For his younger son, Grifo, whose position as the child of an irregular marriage was so like his own, Charles appears to have made some provision by carving out a little area at the frontier of Neustria and Austrasia, with a capital at the city of Laon, which was destined more than two hundred years later to be the last stronghold of the Carolingian house. Carloman and Pippin, 741-747

No sooner had the death of Charles become known than disturbances began in all directions. Aquetaine, Suabia and Saxony attempted to throw off the Frankish yoke, and Grifo appears to have headed a rising of malcontent Neustrian nobles. After a siege in Laon he and his mother, the Bavarian Swanahild, were captured. Swanahild was sent to a monastery near Paris, where we lose sight of her, and Grifo kept in prison for years in a fortress of the Ardennes.

Before turning to the task of repressing the rebellious provinces the two mayors determined to give technical legality to their position by placing a Merovingian on the throne. They found somewhere a certain Childeric who served their purpose, and him they enthroned as the last king of the old royal house of Clovis.

Bavarian expedition, 743

Then they marched against Odilo, Duke of Bavaria, who only a short time before had married their sister Hiltrudis against their wish, but with the approval, and perhaps at the instigation, of Swanahild. In some way that is not very clear this marriage was connected with the rebellion of Odilo against the Frankish overlordship. Odilo appears in some accounts as the organiser of a great alliance of malcontent provinces — Aquetaine, Alemannia and even the Slavs of the North. But the two mayors marched straight on Bavaria, and met the Bavarian forces on the borders of the duchy, where the river Lech flows to join the Danube. Here, after facing each other for fifteen days, they joined battle, and the Bavarians were broken. Odilo escaped, but was subsequently captured, imprisoned, and then, a year later, restored to his duchy. He died soon after, leaving a little son Tassilo, of whom we shall hear again.

Carloman's renunciation, 747

The next three years (744-746) were years of constant warfare with Saxons, Alemannians and Aquetanians. The only episode that needs specific record is the expedition of Carloman against the Alemannians in 746, when he is said to have invited them to meet him at a *gemot*, or assembly, at Cannstadt, and then surrounded them with Frankish troops and put a large number to

the sword. Such acts of treachery are not uncommon in the record of these days, but the sequel is more unusual. Struck with contrition at his own deed, Carloman determined to expiate it by laying down his office and adopting the monastic life. "In this year," says the chronicler, "Carloman laid open to his brother Pippin a thing upon which he had long been meditating, namely, his desire to relinquish his secular life and serve God as a monk." So, in 747, Carloman set out for Rome, where he received the tonsure, and founded a monastery at Mount Soracte. After a time he moved on to Monte Cassino, where he delighted in performing the most menial tasks, till, his name and history being betrayed by his servant, he was accorded a more honourable position. Of him we shall hear again.

Grifo

Meanwhile Pippin was left as sole Mayor of Francia, and his first act was one of ill-judged clemency. He liberated Grifo from captivity and endowed him with "large revenues". But Grifo proved as intractable as he had been six years before. He fled to the Saxons, whom he stirred up to revolt, and when Pippin marched into Saxony he escaped into Bavaria, where he succeeded in getting possession of the little Duke Tassilo and his mother. On the advance of Pippin the Bavarians surrendered Grifo, who was then forgiven by his brother and given substantial territories in Neustria, with Le Mans as his capital. But all was in vain, and Grifo continued to stir up trouble for Pippin till the year 753, when in the act of crossing the Alps to join the Lombards, who were on the eve of a war with the Franks, he was intercepted by two counts of Pippin's army, and in the

skirmish that followed all three were killed. "His death, though he was a traitor to his country, was a cause of grief to Pippin."

Before this event an important change had come to the Frankish kingdom. Since Grimoald's ill-fated attempt to dispossess the Merovingian line, the house of St. Arnulf had been content with the substance of power, leaving the form of it to the kings whom they set up. It is not possible to say what motives led Pippin to desire to end this anomalous position. Possibly, in a country that the efforts of Boniface and his monks were rapidly making Christian, Pippin felt that the religious sanction of a royal consecration might strengthen the authority of his house. Whatever the motive may have been, the facts are thus narrated by the monastic chronicler:—

Pippin, king of the Franks, 750

"In the year 750 of the Lord's incarnation, Pippin sent ambassadors to Rome to Pope Zacharias, to ask concerning the kings of the Franks who were of the royal line and were called kings, but had no power in the kingdom, save only that charters and privileges were drawn in their names. . . . But on the first day of March in the Campus, according to ancient custom, gifts were offered to these kings by the people, and the king himself sat in the royal seat with the army standing around him, and he commanded on that day whatever was decreed by the Franks, but on all other days he stayed at home. Pope Zacharias therefore in the exercise of his apostolical authority replied to their question that it seemed to him better and more expedient that the man who held power in the kingdom should be

called king and be king, rather than he who falsely bore that name. Therefore the aforesaid Pope commanded the king and people of the Franks that Pippin, who was exercising the royal power, should be called king, and occupy the royal seat. Which was therefore done by the anointing of the holy Archbishop Boniface in the city of Soissons. There Pippin is proclaimed king, and Childeric, who was falsely called king, is tonsured and sent into a monastery."

Here then we reach the meeting-place of the old and the new. Pippin is lifted, as Frankish kings had been lifted for unnumbered generations before him, on the shields of the warriors and saluted as king; but he is also, as no other Frankish king had ever yet been, anointed in the church at Soissons as a Christian king.

But what was the share of the Pope in all this? We may be sure that the inquiry of the Franks was never intended to imply any right over the Frankish throne vested in the Roman bishop. But a change in the royal dynasty was a religious act; if disapproved by the religious authorities it would be deprived of its value; and Boniface was likely to use all his influence to persuade the Mayor of the Palace to act in accord with the wishes of the Pope in this important step. The whole incident shows how much more close and harmonious the relations of Pippin were with the ecclesiastical authorities than those of his illustrious father; and it also marks the beginning of a new chapter in the history of Europe, in which the fortunes of the Frank kingdom and the Roman See, which had hitherto had little relation to each other, became so intertwined as to make inevitable

at last the formal recognition of their mutual dependence in the coronation of Charles the Great fifty years later.

For some years after this time the main interest of Pippin's reign centres in his relations with Italy, which can be more conveniently dealt with in the next chapter.

Campaigns against Saxons

It was not till 756 that Pippin was free to turn his attention to the affairs of his own kingdom. His first task was the usual contest with rebellious Saxons. Of this turbulent people we shall have more to say when we deal with their conquest by Charles the Great. Pippin's campaign reduced them to a measure of submission and the promise of annual tribute.

Saracens

Shortly after this Pippin completed the work of driving the Saracens out of the province of Septimania. Moslem rule, which depended largely on Gothic dislike for the Franks, had already been undermined, and on the promise that their local independence should be preserved the Visigoths of Narbonne rose, slew the Saracen garrison and opened the gates to the Frankish king. The Pyrenees became once more the boundary line of Saracen rule.

Aquetaine, 759-768

The closing years of Pippin's reign were spent in a great struggle with Waifer, Duke of Aquetaine, who made a determined bid for independence. The reduction of the province proved no easy task, and in the middle of the war Pippin's nephew, Tassilo of Bavaria, deserted the army and declared that he would serve under his uncle's flag no more. Pippin was too fully occupied with Aquetaine to punish Tassilo's treachery, and it was

not till 768, after nearly nine years of war, that the death of Waifer brought his duchy once more under the Frankish rule. Pippin's settlement of the province was statesmanlike and wise. He made no attempt to extend the laws of the Franks to a people who still accounted themselves Romans, but enacted " that all men, Romans and Salians alike, should keep their own laws, and that if any man should come from another province, he should live according to the law of his own country ".

The settlement of Aquetaine was Pippin's last work. He died in September, 768, at the age of fifty-four, worn out by the labours of a strenuous reign of almost constant fighting.

Of Pippin's personal character we know scarcely anything. The tradition that he was small of stature is late, but may be true. He is reputed to have been a man of great physical strength, and he was certainly shrewd and brave. His interest in the work of Boniface leads one to think of him as sincerely anxious for the extension of Christianity in his kingdom. His greatest work was the extension of Frankish influence beyond the Alps, in the land that was destined to cast so strange a spell for generations over the rulers of those German lands that he ruled so long and so well.

CHAPTER XIII

THE POPE, THE LOMBARDS AND THE FRANKS

CHARLES MARTEL, Liutprand, King of the Lombards, Leo the Isaurian and Gregory II. all begin to play their part in history within a few years of each other, and while Charles declined, as we have seen, to be drawn into Italian affairs, the other three form a group around which Italian history centres. Dr. Hodgkin ingeniously compares the contest of this period to "the litigation that might go on in an English parish between an absentee landlord, a big Nonconformist farmer, and a cultured but acquisitive parson". The Emperor is the absentee landlord, represented by the Exarch of Ravenna, the Lombard King is the farmer, and the Pope the parson.

Liutprand, 712-743

Liutprand was perhaps the best of all the Lombard kings. It is unfortunate that we are so largely dependent for our knowledge of this period on Papal chroniclers and letters, for the unmeasured terms in which the Popes denounce the Lombard kings give us no sort of idea of their real character. But the prosperity of the Lombard kingdom during the thirty years of Liutprand's reign, and his friendship with Charles Martel, who sent his son Pippin to him to be dubbed as a knight, attest the wisdom of his rule. He had been king for fourteen

years when the edict of Leo against images, the story of which will be told in another chapter, set all Italy in a blaze. For the edict not only involved a claim on the part of the Emperor to legislate on religious questions without any consultation with the Pope, it also struck at a cherished part of the religious life of the Italian people.

Gregory II. and Liutprand

An attempt of Scholasticus, the Exarch of Ravenna, to publish the edict led to a riot in Ravenna, and the Duke of Naples was murdered by a mob when he tried to enforce it in his territories. Gregory put himself at the head of the opposition, and wrote vigorous, outspoken and discourteous letters to the Emperor, warning him of the error of his proceedings. Meanwhile Liutprand seized the opportunity to march into the exarchate, where city after city opened its gates to him, and at length Ravenna itself fell into his hands, the exarch escaping to Venice, which remained loyal to the Emperor. But as soon as Liutprand's back was turned the exarch, aided by a Venetian army, recovered the city, which an outbreak of rebellion by the Dukes of Spoleto and Beneventum prevented Liutprand from attacking again. The recalcitrant dukes were soon reduced to order, but in the meanwhile the exarch, acting on orders from the Emperor, marched to Rome to seize the person of the Pope. While the siege was in progress Liutprand and his army arrived outside the city, and the Pope threw himself on the protection of the Lombard king, who received him with the utmost respect and, constituting himself as arbiter, arranged a general pacification, the exarch retaining the city of

Ravenna, but surrendering to Liutprand the other cities that were already in his hands. Leo's second and more drastic edict of 730 only served to arouse even stronger opposition in Italy, and almost the last act of Gregory's life was the assembling of a council of Italian bishops to anathematise all who refused to worship images. In the following year he died. He had been the first Pope for a long time who was a Roman by birth, and he is recorded to have been an earnest restorer of churches and monasteries ruined by the contest of the previous period. To his time of office also belongs the visit to Rome of Ina, king of the West Saxons, who, after reigning for thirty-seven years, renounced his kingdom and came with his wife Ethelburga as a pilgrim to Rome, where he stayed for the short remainder of his life, founding, it is said, a Saxon school in Rome for his fellow-countrymen.

Gregory III., 731-741

Gregory II. was succeeded by a Syrian Pope, Gregory III., who is said to have been compelled to accept the Papal office while assisting at the funeral of his predecessor. He is the last Pope whose election was confirmed by the Exarch of Ravenna, acting for the Emperor.

The first few years of the new Pope were peaceful. The opposition of the Italians to the Iconoclastic decrees cut off Italy almost entirely from the Empire, and the exarch, clinging desperately to his one remaining stronghold of Ravenna, could do nothing to restore Imperial authority. Peace was broken at last through what appears to be a foolish challenge thrown down to the Lombard king by Gregory. The Duke of Spoleto,

having made an unsuccessful attempt to throw off the overlordship of Liutprand, took refuge in Rome, and Gregory refused to surrender him. Liutprand promptly marched against Rome, capturing the Papal towns on his way, and laid siege to the city. Gregory, terrified at the prospect of falling into the hands of the Lombards, wrote frantic appeals to Charles Martel, drawing harrowing pictures of the desolation and ruin of the Roman Church, and imploring Charles, as he valued his soul's salvation, to haste to the rescue. But Charles, already drawing near his end, remained unmoved, and within a few months both he and Gregory died (741).

To the new Pope, Zacharias, Liutprand behaved with the greatest consideration. On his promising that he would give no more help to the Duke of Spoleto he restored all the Papal cities that he had captured and added rich gifts to the Roman Church. Two years later he died, leaving the Lombard kingdom in its highest condition of prosperity, undisturbed by internal divisions and at peace with its great northern neighbour.

Liutprand was succeeded by a nephew Hildebrand, who, proving himself an incompetent ruler, was deposed in a few months to make room for Ratchis, Duke of Friuli. For five years or so Ratchis remained at peace with the Pope; then, for some reason that is not clear, he broke the truce and laid siege to Perugia. Zacharias, who had already exercised his personal influence over Liutprand in the last year of his life, when he dissuaded him from a projected attack on Ravenna, now gave an even more striking evidence of his personal power, for when he visited the Lombard camp, to dissuade Ratchis

Ratchis and Zacharias

from his warlike design, he so influenced the king that, with his wife and daughters, he repaired to Rome, there took monastic vows, and joined the Benedictines at the great monastery of Monte Cassino.

He was succeeded by his brother Aistulf, who, while Zacharias lived, appears to have held his restless and turbulent ambition in check. The last important act of Zacharias' pontificate was the sanction he gave to the transference of the Frankish crown from the Merovingian line to Pippin. He died in 752, and after a Pope, Stephen, who only held office for three days, Stephen II. succeeded.

The *Donation of Constantine*

The new Pope was a Roman by birth, and had been brought up in the Papal palace under Gregory II. He therefore inherited the traditions of Papal policy. What these traditions were can be seen by reference to a celebrated document, which probably first saw the light at about this time. The document is the *Donation of Constantine*, and purports to be a decree of the first Christian Empire, granting immense dignities and possessions to the Roman bishop. After giving to the occupant of the Papal See supremacy over the Sees of Alexandria, Antioch, Jerusalem and Constantinople, and sovereignty over all the priests in the world, and appointing the Church in the Lateran palace as "the head and summit of all the churches in the whole world," it goes on to grant to the Roman clergy various ceremonial privileges. They may ride on horses with white saddle-cloths, and wear white shoes, like the senators; and the Pope is to wear an imperial tiara, wherewith the Emperor has in person crowned him.

Then follows the important clause, on which so vast a superstructure was destined to be built:—

"Wherefore, that the pontifical crown may be adorned with glory and influence beyond the dignity of the earthly empire, we hand over and relinquish our palace, the city of Rome, and all the provinces, places, and cities of Italy and the western region, to the most blessed pontiff and universal Pope Silvester; and we ordain by our pragmatic constitution that they shall be governed by him and his successors, and we grant that they shall remain under the authority of the Holy Roman Church."

No one now believes that Constantine made any such donation as this, but it does not follow that the document is a mere forgery. It represents a tradition that was growing up at the Papal court at this critical period, when Rome had need of all the weapons, legal as well as material, that she could enlist in her service against the ambition and strength of the Lombards. The Imperial cause in Italy was clearly doomed, and as the power of the Empire decayed the prospect of the establishment of a new Italian kingdom, as large as, and more stable than, that of Theodoric, began to appear as an imminent danger.

Aistulf, 749-756

Under Aistulf's restless and able leadership the Lombard menace soon grew pressing. In 751 the Lombard king marched against Ravenna, which now fell finally into his hands, the last exarch taking refuge in Sicily. Then, after one more campaign against Spoleto, the king began to close in on his destined victim, the Pope.

As ruler of Ravenna, what more natural than that he should claim the same authority over Rome that previous rulers of Ravenna had exercised? Accordingly the strife began with demands for tribute and recognition from the Pope. In vain embassy after embassy from Rome confronted the Lombard king; in vain holy abbots from the most renowned monasteries of Italy interceded for peace. The king remained inexorable. Then a new figure appears upon the scenes: John, the Imperial silentiarius, bearing a letter from the Emperor demanding from Aistulf the return of the lands he had seized, and charging the Pope to secure their restoration. To all which Stephen can only reply by a last appeal to the Emperor to come to the deliverance of the city.

But while the Emperor was unable to respond to the appeal there was another power from whom help might be secured, and Stephen sent a private letter to Pippin suggesting that he should invite him to visit the Frankish Court. The Frankish king must have recognised that by accepting this proposal he was committing himself to the championing of the cause of the Pope against the ancient allies of his people, but the spell that had drawn Visigoth, Ostrogoth and Lombard from the Danube to the Tiber was now drawing the greatest of the Teutonic peoples towards the same goal. The ten years that had passed since the death of Charles had greatly strengthened the influence of the Papacy in Northern Europe. Boniface, now nearly at the end of his strenuous life, had done splendid service for the Papal cause, and the support given by Zacharias

to the deposition of the last of the Merovingians had forged a new bond of union between Rome and Francia.

Pippin sent two messengers to convey his invitation to the Pope, and Stephen sent back two letters—one addressed to the king and the other to the Frankish nobles, who might be expected to show less enthusiasm than the king for a campaign against the Lombards.

Pippin and the Pope

Meanwhile a fresh envoy had come from Constantinople, charging the Pope to go in person to demand from the Lombard king the restoration of the Imperial territory. A messenger sent to Aistulf to demand a safe-conduct for the Pope returned with the necessary guarantee just as two distinguished Franks arrived to conduct the Pope across the Alps. These were Duke Autchar and Chrodegang, Bishop of Metz, the most important Church leader, next to Boniface, in Francia. Stephen accordingly set out for Pavia, professedly to support the demands of the Imperial envoys, but really to demand permission to visit the Frankish Court, a demand that, backed by the support of Pippin's two representatives, the Lombard king dared not refuse.

To cross the Great St. Bernard in November was no easy task, but the Pope and his companions safely reached the monastery of St. Maurice at Agaunum, where Fulrad of St. Denis and Duke Roland met the travellers to escort them to the court.

Pippin himself with his family came south to a royal palace at Ponthion, in Champagne, and the king sent his eldest son Charles, of whom we now hear for the first time, to meet the Pope. So on the 6th of January, 754, king and Pope met outside Ponthion.

The meeting may rightly be judged one of the most important events in European history. For if Pippin had not decided to espouse the cause of the Pope, nothing could have saved Rome from falling into the hands of the Lombards, and while the Frankish kings, free from the entanglement of Italian affairs, would have been able to devote themselves to the building up of their own territories, the Lombards might have united Italy under their rule, and so the work of Charlemagne and Cavour might have been forestalled by centuries.

But these things were not to be. [illegible] taken to support the cause of the Po[illegible] solemnly crowned, with his wife and [illegible] anathema pronounced on any who sh[illegible] attempt to dispossess the family of Pip[illegible] had dispossessed the Merovingians. At [illegible] Stephen conferred on Pippin the title [illegible] title that had generally been held by [illegible] Ravenna, and that, strictly speaking, the [illegible]one had the right to grant. This act, like [illegible]tephen's course of action at this crisis, implie[illegible] a practical repudiation of Imperial authority in Italy; it was for himself, and not for the Emperor, that the Pope requested from Pippin the sovereignty of the exarchate and its subject lands.

But however willing Pippin might be to champion the cause of the Pope, questions of peace and war could not, among the Franks, be decided on the mere word of the king, and accordingly a general assembly of the Frankish nobles was held near Soissons, at which Pippin

was able, not without considerable difficulty, to persuade his chief men to agree to the war—or at least to the opening of such negotiations with Aistulf as might probably end in armed conflict. At this juncture a dramatic scene occurred. Carloman, sent apparently by the Abbot of Monte Cassino, suddenly appeared at the court to plead for p[illegible]ce b[illegible]ween his brother and the Lombard king. We do not know what motives led him to this step, w[illegible]al chronicler attributes to the "devilish i[illegible]f Aistulf. We only know that Pippin [illegible]ear to his appeals, and sent him to a sa[illegible]where in the Frankish kingdom, where [illegible]er—a pathetic end for one who had been [illegible] and, in all but name, a king.

Carloman's mission

Au[illegible]ses exactly Pippin made to the Pope in P[illegible]Italian possessions of the Empire is a [illegible]roversy. If any document was, as later [illegible]s believe, drawn up, no trace of it now re[illegible] probably true that Pippin intended to secu[illegible]Pope the Exarchate of Ravenna. He certainly did [illegible]intend to wrest these lands from Aistulf merely to h[illegible]d them over to the Emperor, nor did he contemplate, at this stage, the extension of his own rule to the lands beyond the Alps.

While preparing for his expedition to Italy Pippin made strenuous efforts to secure by negotiation the session of the lands that Aistulf had seized. It was only when all negotiations proved useless that the host gathered near Soissons for the great expedition. An advance guard succeeded in driving Aistulf from Susa, where he was watching the passes of the Alps, and the

main army, crossing without any fighting, laid siege to Pavia. Finding resistance useless Aistulf surrendered, promising to restore Ravenna and other cities to "the Pope and the Roman republic".

But no sooner had Pippin and his warriors recrossed the Alps than fresh difficulties arose, and a series of piteous appeals from the Pope reached the Frankish Court. Aistulf, "whose heart the devil has invaded," has restored nothing, but was heaping such insults on the Holy Church that the very stones might weep.

Pippin might have listened unmoved to these complaints if Aistulf had not put himself hopelessly in the wrong by laying siege to Rome and demanding the surrender of the person of the Pope. For three months the siege went on, and the Pope waxed more urgent in his appeals for help. "On you, after God and St. Peter, depend the lives of all the Romans. If we perish, all the nations of the earth will say, 'Where is the confidence of the Romans which they placed in the kings and the nation of the Franks?'"

When personal appeals seemed in vain, the Pope wrote a letter purporting to be addressed by St. Peter to the kings, bishops and nobles of the Franks, wherein the apostle urges the Franks, as they value their own souls, to haste to the rescue of that city of Rome which is under the special care of the writer.

Pippin's second expedition, 756

Early in 756 Pippin set out for another expedition into Italy. At Pavia he was met by two envoys from the Emperor, who tried to persuade him to restore the exarchate to the Empire—a proposal to which the king emphatically refused to consent.

Aistulf was soon reduced to submission, and this time the Frankish king took good care to ensure the fulfilment of the treaty, by which twenty-three cities in the exarchate were to be handed over to the Pope. The keys of the surrendered cities were placed in the sepulchre of St. Peter in Rome, and by that act the Pope at once acquired the status of a sovereign prince and repudiated his subjection to the Empire.

In the following year Aistulf died, killed by a fall from his horse while out hunting. For the vacant throne two claimants appeared. One of these was a powerful Lombard lord, Desiderius, Duke of Tuscany, a favourite of the late king, but apparently a man of humble birth. The other was Ratchis, who, after seven years of monastic life at Monte Cassino, suddenly escaped to Pavia and there for three months ruled as king.

War between the rival claimants seemed inevitable; but Desiderius succeeded in securing the support of the Pope by the promise of Bologna and several other cities that Liutprand had captured long ago from the exarchate. Ratchis retired from the unequal contest, and part of the promised territory was handed over to the Pope by the new king of the Lombards. Just after this Stephen died and was succeeded by his brother Paul, who occupied the Papal chair through ten comparatively uneventful years. The relations between the Pope and the Franks remained close and cordial, though Pippin took no further share in Italian affairs, and Paul contrived to live on terms of comparative peace with his Lombard neighbour.

The Pope and the Frankish king died within a year of each other, and a new period of confusion and contest followed in Italy, ending at last in a new Frankish intervention and the final end of the Lombard kingdom.

CHAPTER XIV

THE ICONOCLASTIC EMPERORS

THE history of the Empire in the eighth century turns almost entirely around the Iconoclastic controversy. After the great siege of Constantinople that opened the reign of Leo III. the Saracens did not seriously menace the heart of the Empire, though they continued their attacks on the outlying provinces. Nor, again, did the emperors make any effective attempt to reassert their authority in Italy. But internally the Empire was taking the form that it was destined to retain for centuries. In language and customs it was losing its Roman character and becoming more definitely Greek. Already the law books of Justinian were unintelligible to the people, and a Greek handbook of law, the *Ecloga*, was drawn up under the Emperor's instructions. The Empire in the eighth century

While the European territories of the Emperor were becoming more Greek, the lands of Asia Minor were losing their Greek population, and passing into the hands of men of Eastern race from Syria, Armenia and Persia.

One beneficial result of the Slavonic settlements in the Balkan district was the disappearance of serfdom in the Empire, the place of the serf being taken by free tenants or village communes.

In the disturbed conditions of the time it is not strange that literature and art should have decayed and various foolish superstitions grown up. Theology had filled the East with controversy, but religion was at a low ebb, and the moral standard of the clergy was thoroughly unsatisfactory. The task that lay before a reforming emperor was sufficiently discouraging.

Siege of Constantinople, 718

But no reform could begin till the great struggle with the Moslems, the impending outbreak of which had called Leo to the throne, was over. Within five months of the accession of the new Emperor, the Saracen commander Moslemah, with eighty thousand men, had crossed the Hellespont and begun to blockade the city with a ditch and rampart. On the 1st of September Suleiman arrived with a fleet of eighteen hundred warships.

In the defence of the city "Greek fire" plays a leading part. This "Greek" or "Marine fire," the exact composition of which is not known, was a kind of sticky or viscid substance of a highly inflammable nature that was poured from cauldrons or vomited from tubes on to the ships or engines of the enemy. It is said to have been first used in the siege of Constantinople of 673 and the following years.

Leo's first success was the burning of twenty transports with this Greek fire, an exploit that filled the enemy with fear of this deadly weapon of defence. In the long and severe winter that followed, the besiegers suffered great hardships, but in the spring fresh reinforcements arrived. Ill-fortune dogged the Saracen cause. A large number of Egyptian Christians, who

Kdm. of KHAZARS
AVARS
MAGYARS
Pavia
Venice
Belgrade
Ravenna
Kingdom of the BULGARIANS
SERBS
Rome
MACE-DONIA
Adrianople
Constantinople
Sinope
Salonica
Nicomedia
Edessa
Antioch
Alexandria
ABBASIDE EMPIRE
Engl. Miles
0 100 200 300
Byzantine Empire
F. V. Barbi Shire. Oxford, 1909

were serving in the Moslem fleet, deserted to the enemy, and emboldened by this, Leo made another attack on the ships, some of which he destroyed and threw the rest into confusion. Then a Saracen army, that was blockading the Asiatic shores of the Bosphorus, was surprised and routed by a body of Roman soldiers. Famine also began to threaten the besieging army, and finally, in the summer of 718, a Bulgarian army from the north fell upon the Saracens and inflicted severe losses on them.

On the 15th of August the siege was raised and the Moslem retreat began. The army succeeded in reaching Syria, but the fleet was scattered by a tempest, and only five vessels arrived home of all the great Armada that was to open the gate of Europe to the Moslems. Arab records put the loss on the Saracen side at not less than a hundred and fifty thousand men.

The defence of Constantinople by Leo deserves to rank with the battle fought by Charles Martel fourteen years later. They represent the two supreme attempts made by the Ommeyad dynasty to break through the great barriers that guarded Christendom from Moslem attack. From this time the tide of battle turned, and the rest of the century saw the gradual decline of Saracen rule both in the east and in the west. In 750 the last Caliph of the Ommeyad dynasty was slain, and Damascus fell into the hands of the new dynasty of the Abbasides. Only in Spain did the Ommeyad party retain power, and the Moslems of the west were henceforth cut off from all connection with those of the east.

Iconoclastic edict, 726

The deliverance of Constantinople was immediately followed by the outbreak of the Iconoclastic controversy.

This great contest, which was destined to cause the final severance between Eastern and Western Europe, and so prepare the way for the establishment of a Western Empire, was the outcome of an edict issued by Leo in 726 ordering the removal of pictures and images from the churches. It is often said that Leo was moved to this step by the jeers of the Moslems, who charged the Christians with idolatry. But he was probably influenced quite as much by the growth of childish superstitions connected with the pictures and coloured figures that adorned the churches. A little before this time a sect had arisen in Asia Minor calling themselves Paulicians (followers of St. Paul), one of whose distinctive tenets was belief in the evil of matter and therefore the repudiation of symbols. There is probably some direct connection between these Paulicians and the Albigenses and Waldenses of later times, and it is not improbable that they influenced the Isaurian emperors in their religious policy.

To some extent the Iconoclastic edict was the outcome of the theological controversy that had played so large a part in Byzantine history in the previous century.

The Monophysites, whom the emperors of the seventh century frequently supported, held the view that our Lord's human nature was absorbed and lost in the Divine, and it seemed to follow from this that any attempt to represent the Saviour in human form was to be discouraged as bringing into prominence that human side of His being that was only an illusion. For the same reason image-worshippers claimed to be defenders of the doctrine of the true humanity of Christ.

But as the controversy proceeded it broadened out into a general attack by the rationalistic spirit on the ecclesiastical tendencies of the time—a kind of eighth-century Lutheranism. Mariolatry, the worship of saints and the adoration of relics were included in the Imperial condemnation under Constantine V., and monasticism itself was attacked by his reforming zeal.

The chief support of the Imperial policy came from the army, which was recruited to a considerable extent from the same district in the highlands of Asia from which the Isaurian emperors derived their name. Its chief opponents were the monks, who were the leaders of missionary work. Their ground of opposition may be summarised in a saying of Gregory the Great, "Pictures are the lesson-books of the unlearned". Undoubtedly the great numbers of unlearned people who had recently passed over from heathenism to Christianity tended to carry image-worship to what men on both sides admitted were excessive and superstitious lengths; but on the other hand it was urged that without the help provided by these outward symbols many of them would find the new faith impossible to understand.

But while many thoughtful men regarded the Imperial edict as an attempt to solve by mere force a question that needed much more delicate handling, the populace raged against the destruction of images, to which the greatest veneration was attached. Riots broke out even in Constantinople itself, and in Italy it was impossible to enforce the edict at all. Germanus, Patriarch of Constantinople, resigned rather than assent to the Imperial policy, which involved a claim to interfere in ecclesiastical

questions to which he could not submit. Leo appointed a new patriarch favourable to his policy, but Pope Gregory refused to recognise him, and most of the churchmen of the Empire repudiated his authority. An unsuccessful attempt was even made to set up a rival emperor.

Constantine Copronymus, 740-775

On Leo's death, in 741, he was succeeded by his son Constantine, who received the opprobrious nickname of Copronymus. Constantine was as resolute an Iconoclast as his father, and much more uncompromising in the measures he took to enforce the edicts. After putting down, with considerable difficulty, a rebellion of his brother-in-law Artavasdos, he had to face an even more pressing peril in a devastating plague that swept through the Empire and practically depopulated Constantinople. Constantine imported fresh families from Greece to fill the almost empty city, leaving Slavs from the north to fill the vacant lands in Greece. It is from this time that Constantinople can be regarded as Greek rather than Roman, though it still jealously kept the Roman name.

Constantine succeeded in stamping out all public disobedience to his father's edicts, but he really only drove the custom of image-worship into secrecy. In 753 he called a great council of three hundred and thirty-eight bishops, which condemned all representations of our Lord and all worship of images of saints. When the leaders of the Church declined to accept the decisions of the council, Constantine practically declared war on the monastic system and demolished a considerable number of monasteries.

On the frontiers he defended the Empire efficiently, frequently driving back Saracens in the east and subduing Slavs in the north. He waged three successful wars with the Bulgarians and developed the internal resources of the Empire.

Leo IV., 775-780

After a reign of thirty-five years, Constantine died and was succeeded by his son Leo IV.—"the Khazar," as he was called, after the tribe to which his mother belonged. In 768 he had married an Athenian lady Irene, by whom he had one son Constantine. In 780 Leo died, having in his short reign shown his determination to maintain his father's policy. But the Empress, who now became mistress of the Empire as regent for her son, was secretly in favour of image-worship, and at once set herself to undo the policy of the Isaurian house. As a first step to this end the five half-brothers of the late Emperor were compelled to take holy orders in order to be incapacitated from reigning. When, three years later, the Patriarch Paul resigned, she determined to advance her own secretary, Tarasius, to the vacant office. He agreed on condition that a council should meet to settle the controversy. After some delay, due to the opposition of the army, some regiments of which had to be sent away from the capital, the council met, in September, 787, at Nicæa. The issue of its deliberations was never in doubt, and the final decree orders images to be set up in churches for worship (*προσκύνησις*), but not for the adoration (*λατρέια*) that belongs only to God, "forasmuch as the honour paid to an image passeth on to the original, and he who adoreth an image doth in it adore the person of him whom it doth represent". It is

worth remembering that the "images" here referred to are paintings or mosaics on a flat surface, and statues are still not used in the Greek Church.

But scarcely had this great success for Irene's policy been secured before she found herself involved in a contest for power with her own son. An unsuccessful attack on Southern Italy, due to a rupture of friendly relations with the Frankish King Charles, aroused discontent with Irene's rule, and Constantine, now grown to man's estate, attempted to throw off his mother's yoke. The plot was discovered, and Constantine was whipped and confined to his room like a schoolboy. Irene then demanded from the soldiers a new oath, in which they pledged themselves not to accept her son as their ruler while she lived. This led to a revolt of the army, already indignant at the Empress' policy, and Constantine was liberated and Irene imprisoned in her palace. But in 792 Constantine, now apparently secure on his throne, liberated his mother. Just before this he had, as a punishment for a real or supposed conspiracy, blinded one of his uncles and split the tongues of the others. For four years Irene remained to all outward appearance on friendly terms with her son, but in 795 he laid himself open to attack by repudiating his wife Maria, to whom he had been married against his will after a project for a marriage with a daughter of Charles the Great had fallen through, and marrying Theodote, one of the maids of honour. This step alienated the Church leaders of the Empire, and probably helped Irene to form a party. In 797 Constantine was attacked by some soldiers, fled to Asia, was brought

Irene, 788-802

back by some treacherous friends, and was finally blinded by his mother's orders in the very room in the palace in which he had been born. He lingered on for many years in blindness and misery.

Irene was now sole ruler of the Empire, but the real power was in the hands of two rival eunuchs of the palace, Stauracius and Ætius, who successively gained the patronage of their mistress. The four years of Irene's supremacy are marked in history by the coronation of Charles as Emperor in the West, an event probably not unconnected with the fact that the Empire had now passed under the "monstrous regiment of women". In 802 the magnates of the Empire determined to bring this condition of things to an end, and chose one of their number, Nicephorus, whom they proceeded to proclaim as emperor. Irene fell undefended and unregretted, and was sent to end her life at Lesbos, where she died a year later. Her crimes did not prevent her memory from being held in reverence as the restorer of image-worship.

The history of the Byzantine Empire in the ninth century need not be told in much detail, as it has little direct bearing on the general course of European affairs.

Nicephorus, 802-811

Nicephorus, the new Emperor, inherited a war with the Caliph, the celebrated Haroun-al-Raschid, and with the new Emperor of the West, Charles the Great. Both these he brought to an end, the first at the cost of a tribute of thirty thousand solidi, the second without any session of territory or money. But he and his son were killed in 811 in an expedition against the Bulgarians, and a series of emperors successively seized the throne, none

of them holding it long, till Michael the Amorian, a turbulent soldier, was raised to power in 820. His reign is chiefly notable for the loss of Sicily and Crete, which fell into the hands of the Moslems. His son Theophilus, who succeeded on his death in 829, resumed the Iconoclastic policy of the Isaurians. But again the work of suppressing image-worship was undone by a woman's influence. Theophilus died in 842, leaving his wife Theodora as regent for their little son Michael. Theodora was secretly a strong partisan of the image-worshipping party, and no sooner was she in office than a fresh reaction began and image-worship was again restored. When Michael grew up he banished his mother and ruled with the advice of his uncle Bardas, a depraved and drunken man, whose influence over the young Emperor was wholly bad. However, in 866 he was slain by the Emperor's orders, and Michael then chose as his colleague an able young officer, Basil the Macedonian, who repaid his patron by murdering him a year later, and so becoming sole Emperor in the East.

Michael "the Drunkard," 842-867

The Macedonian dynasty, thus inaugurated, ruled the Byzantine Empire for two hundred years, on the whole with ability and success. Under Basil the Empire reconquered Southern Italy from the Saracens and carried successful raids into Syria and Mesopotamia. He was succeeded by his son Leo (886-912), who was a student and dabbler in literature, and earned the name of "the Wise," because he was supposed to be learned in curious arts. It was fortunate for the Empire that the decreasing power of the Caliphs and the confusion of Western Europe insured immunity from external

attack and even enabled the Imperial frontiers to be ex-
tended in Southern Italy and in the East. Leo's son
Constantine, "Porphyrogenitus" as he was called, be-
cause he was the first emperor for a considerable time
who had been born during his father's reign carried on
his father's habit of interest in literature the
actual work of government was left to the
of State. Among the most important
period were the missionary labours of
Cyril and Methodius, who reduced the
Balkan Slavs to writing, and translated
it. About the middle of the ninth century
garian King Boris and the Servian King
baptised, and Christianity was formally
religion of both peoples. So we leave the
Empire at peace, developing its internal
commerce, free at last from theological
and tending more and more to a life of
the main stream of European progress.

CHAPTER XV

GREAT AND THE LOMBARD KINGDOM

of Charles, eldest son of Pippin, brings ene the central figure of the period volume. For the period might not lescribed as the period of the rise and supremacy in Europe. From the first lovis as king at Tournai in 481 to the of Franconia in 918 it is the history of forms the central thread in the tangle ffairs. And it was in the person of eat that the Frankish people made its tion to the life and thought of the Middle the free Teutonic spirit submitted itself n of ordered rule that was the inherit- nan Empire, and both passed under the a religious sanction that turned the war- leade eutonic tribe into the crusader and champ on o the Christian cause.

Cha les, as he appears in the chronicles of the time, is almost an ideal Teutonic king. Of enormous physical strength, solute will and untiring energy, he was a born leader c men. Except when moved by strong passion, he was just and clement in his dealings with his enemies. Even his Saxon antagonists bear testi-

mony to his bravery and good faith. Though his policy embraced the whole Western Empire, he remained an Austrasian at heart, and retained the language and costume of his native country.

And against the background of that rough and turbulent age he stands out as something not far short of the ideal of a Christian king; not free from the limitations of his own age—an age that had learnt only too well from its Moslem foes how to propagate the faith with the sword—but keeping before him the true ideal of a Christian society bound in the bond of brotherhood by common obedience to the Christian law.

Charles and Carloman, 768-771

On the death of Pippin the usual division of inheritance followed. All the northern and more purely Teutonic part of the Frankish kingdom fell to Charles as the eldest son; the southern lands—Burgundy, Provence, Suabia—passed to his other son, Carloman, a youth about ten years younger. But for some reason that is not very clear, the two sons of Pippin did not succeed in co-operating with the same harmony as had marked the joint rule of their father and uncle. An opportunity for the display of this ill-feeling was afforded soon after their accession by a revolt in Aquetaine, led by Hunold, who, after twenty years of monastic life, returned to the world to avenge the death of his son Waifer. Charles marched into Aquetaine, but Carloman declined to help and left his brother to cope with the rebellion alone. Fortunately it did not prove a very difficult task. Hunold was defeated and surrendered to Charles, who sent him to Rome to be dealt with by the Pope for

breach of his monastic vows. After a short residence in a Roman monastery, he escaped to Pavia, where he was stoned to death. Meanwhile Charles, having built a fortress at Fronsac to overawe the Aquetanians, returned in triumph to Francia.

The next few years were occupied by Charles in forging alliances with neighbouring states, with a view to a possible conflict with Carloman. Tassilo of Bavaria, Charles' cousin, had been a rebel against Pippin's authority, but Charles overlooked this and entered into friendly relations with him. Several things made the friendship of the Bavarian duke important. Bavaria lay between the Frankish territories of the north and the passes of the Alps, beyond which lay the Italy towards which Charles' eyes may already have turned. In another way Tassilo linked Francia and Italy, for he had married a daughter of Desiderius, king of the Lombards, and through him Charles entered into a friendly understanding with the Lombard king. This understanding ripened into a proposal for a twofold marriage alliance between the two houses, Charles espousing Desiderius' daughter Desiderata, and his sister Gisla marrying Desiderius' son Adelchis.

Even before Queen Bertha reached the Roman Court to announce these marriage arrangements to the new Pope, Stephen II., he had sent an angry letter to the two Frankish kings, denouncing the proposed marriage between the ruler of Francia and the "leprous brood" of the Lombards. But in spite of Papal opposition the marriage took place, and shortly after, the Pope was himself obliged to appeal for the help of Desiderius

in putting down a conspiracy at Rome, the details of which are rather obscure.

But the marriage of Charles and Desiderata was destined to the same unhappy ending as that of Henry VIII. and Catherine of Arragon seven hundred years later. Desiderata was delicate and bore no child to her husband, and a beautiful Suabian girl, Hildegarde, played the part of Anne Boleyn. So Charles repudiated his wife, in spite of his mother Bertha's protests, and Desiderata returned to her father at Pavia.

Soon after this the short-lived friendship between the Lombard king and the Pope came to an end. Desiderius felt the toils closing around him, when the death of Carloman threw into his hands a valuable hostage. Gerberga, Carloman's widow, believing, or affecting to believe, that her two little sons were in danger, fled with them to the Lombard Court, where Desiderius gave them a welcome.

The fall of the Lombard kingdom, 774

Just at this stage Pope Stephen died and was succeeded by Hadrian, a stronger and perhaps abler leader, who threw himself wholly into the policy of alliance with the Franks and hostility to the Lombards. From that moment the doom of the Lombard kingdom was certain. The special purpose of Desiderius was to sow dissension between Charles and the Pope by inducing Hadrian to crown the two little sons of Carloman. In this he was supported by a Lombard party among the Papal advisors; and when the Pope discovered a treasonable correspondence going on between his chamberlain Afiarta and Desiderius, and had his officer arrested and executed, the Lombard king set out for Rome, where

he might have succeeded in deposing the Pope and setting up a rival in his own interest. But under threat of excommunication he hesitated at the frontier and finally turned back.

Meanwhile Hadrian sent in hot haste to Charles, appealing to him for help. Charles appears to have tried to avoid a final breach with the Lombard king, and sent commissioners to investigate the causes of quarrel between Hadrian and Desiderius. But when Desiderius refused all recognition of the claims of the Pope to the cities that he had seized in the exarchate, Charles found himself obliged to act. He gathered a great host at Geneva, and sent half, under the command of his uncle Bernhard, through the St. Gothard Pass, while he led the other half through the Mount Cenis, at the end of which he found the Lombards, under the king's son Adelchis, posted in a strong position, from which they were only dislodged after some stiff fighting. Then, after taking one by one the other cities of Lombardy, Charles gathered all his forces round the capital city of Pavia, where Desiderius, with the remains of his army, had taken refuge. Adelchis fled to Constantinople, where he became a useful pawn in the game that the Eastern Court found it convenient to play.

In June, 774, Pavia fell, and with its fall the Lombards, as a nation, vanish from history. The two little sons of Carloman disappeared from the scene, and Desiderius and his wife ended their days in separate religious houses in Francia, while Charles now adopted the title of *Rex Francorum et Langobardorum*.

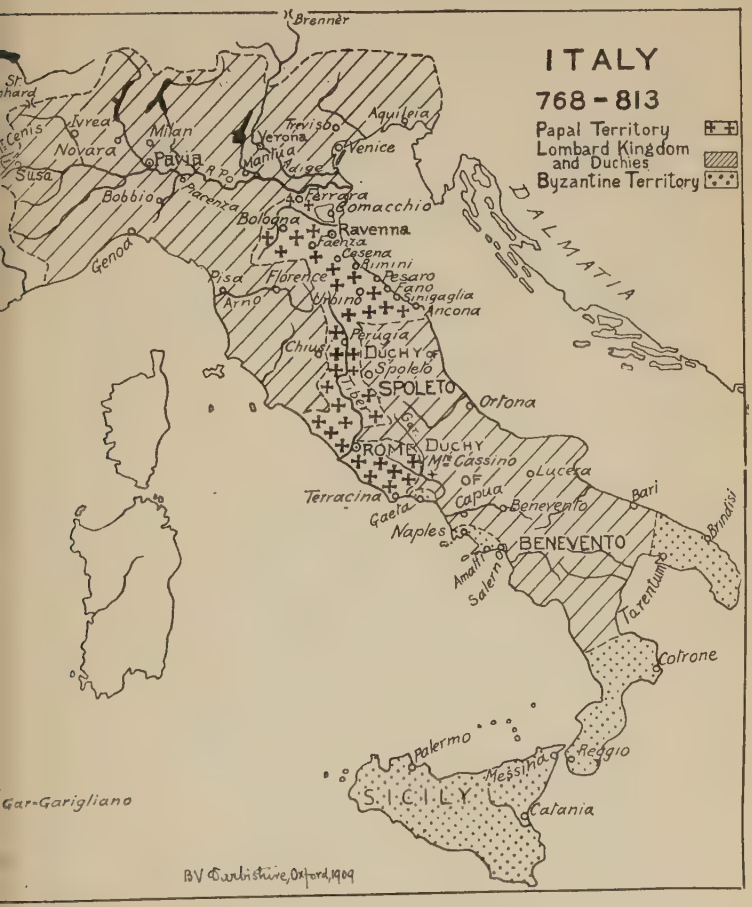
It is impossible not to feel some regret at the disappearance of the last of those rulers of Northern Italy, who might, under happier circumstances, have vindicated their right to the title of King of Italy. The Lombards had come to Italy an uncouth but virile race; under the genial influence of Italian skies they had lost much of their uncouthness and also not a little of their virility. A hardier northern race broke their power at last, and they were slowly merged and lost in the Italian peoples among whom they had made their home. On the ruins of the Lombard kingdom rose the two great powers that were destined to make the history of Western Europe for five hundred years—the Empire and the Papacy.

Charles' visit to Rome, 774

Before the fall of Pavia, at Easter, 774, Charles paid his first visit to Rome. It was the first time that a Frankish king had visited the sacred city, and every effort was made to do honour to his coming. When he met the long procession of the Roman clergy coming out with banners and songs to greet him, he dismounted from his horse, and so passed into the city. There Hadrian met him and ratified the "Holy League" that united the Papal destinies with those of the northern kingdom. For seven days Charles stayed in Rome, viewing the wonders of the city and falling under the spell of the ordered splendour of the Church life that he saw around him. One event of this visit has become the centre of great controversy. Let us hear the chronicler in the *Liber Pontificalis*:—

"On the fourth day of the week, the Pope, with his officers, went forth to the Church of St. Peter, and there meeting the king in conference, earnestly en-

treated him, and exhorted him with paternal affection, that he would fulfil completely the promise that his



father, Pippin of blessed memory, had made, and that he himself with his brother Carloman and all the nobles

of the Franks had confirmed to St. Peter and his vicar Pope Stephen II., when he had visited Francia, that they would grant various cities and territories in that province of Italy to St. Peter and his vicar for a perpetual possession. And when the king had caused the promise that had been made in a place called Carisiacum to be read over to him, all its contents were approved by himself and his nobles. And of his own accord, with good and willing mind, the most excellent and Christian king caused another deed of gift to be drawn up like the first, by Etherius his chaplain and notary, and in this he granted the same cities and territories to St. Peter, and promised that they should be conveyed to the Pope with their boundaries set forth as contained in the aforesaid donation, namely: From Luna with the island of Corsica, thence to Surianum, thence to Mons Bardonis, thence to Parma, thence to Rhegium, and from thence to Mantua and Mons Silicis, and also the whole Exarchate of Ravenna, such as it was in old time, and the provinces of Venetia and Istria; and also the Duchies of Spoleto and Beneventum."

Many theories have been advanced as to the meaning of this passage, which seems to imply that Charles handed over to the Pope practically all Italy except part of the old Lombard kingdom of the North, and, apparently, Calabria. Did he mean that whatever rights the emperors still retained in Italy he now proposed to transfer to the Pope? That is perhaps the most reasonable explanation of the grant, if the account can be relied upon; but some are disposed to suspect the hand of the interpolator of a later time, supplying material

on which the Popes of after ages might base claims unforeseen in the days when the Frankish king and the Roman pontiff met.

One thing at least is clear. Charles never acted as though he had conferred on the Pope a position of independent sovereignty. Whatever had been the relation of the Popes to the Byzantine emperors at an earlier time, that he regarded as their relation to himself. They had merely transferred their allegiance to a new overlord, better able to help, but also better able to control.

CHAPTER XVI

THE SAXON WARS

AT the time of Charles' accession to the Frankish throne the northern frontier of his kingdom followed the line of the Rhine as far as Cologne, and then turned due east, parallel with the course of the Main, till a little beyond the Weser, where the Thuringian Franks fronted the Slavonic tribes farther east. North of this frontier line the territories of the Saxons stretched up to the borders of Denmark and along the Elbe. Like the Franks and the Alemannians, the Saxons were a confederation of Teutonic tribes, whose original home had been in Holstein. From early times they had taken to a seafaring life, and became the terror of the Frisian and British coasts in the last days of the Roman rule. With the fall of Roman authority in the west many of them had crossed the channel to find new homes in Britain, while others turned southward and occupied the district between the Elbe and the Rhine.

Among the Saxons local independence was strong. Each district had its own chief, and it is doubtful whether there was any general assembly of the Saxons like the "Marchfield" of the Franks. A certain bond of union seems to have been supplied by a sacred pole

called the Irminsul, which had apparently been carried with them in their migrations, and finally placed in the woods at Eresburg, where gatherings for tribal worship were occasionally held.

For practical purposes the Saxons were at this time divided into four groups—the Nordliudi, north of the Elbe; the Ostfali, on the left bank of the Elbe; the Angrarii in the valley of the Weser; and the Westfali, between the Weser and the Rhine. They lived under strict laws, in scattered villages, and were masters of the art of guerilla warfare. No missionary had yet penetrated into their country, and though Pippin had reduced them to a nominal submission they remained still practically independent.

Charles was moved to undertake the conquest of the Saxons partly to protect the frontier lands from their raids, but even more by a desire to bring these heathen tribes to Christianity. He could hardly have foreseen that by that work of conquest he was preparing the way for the shifting of the centre of gravity of the Eastern kingdom from the Frank to the Saxon—from Aachen on the Rhine to Magdeburg on the Elbe, and so preparing also for the development of the more Romanised West Francia into a separate kingdom of France.

The Saxon campaigns, 772

Charles' wars with the Saxons lasted for thirty years and involved at least eighteen campaigns. In 772 he led his first expedition into Saxony, stormed the fort of Eresburg and destroyed the Irminsul—in much the same spirit of untempered zeal as that in which the Israelites of old destroyed the idols of Canaan. The

Saxons pretended submission and gave hostages, and the Frankish army withdrew.

In the following year, while Charles was in Italy, they had their revenge. Crossing the frontier they burnt the Church of Deventer, while another band raided the Hessian villages and set fire to the Church of St. Boniface at Fritzlar, but, by what was thought to be miraculous intervention, the flames went out. On Charles' return the raiders retreated, followed by some Frankish cavalry who did considerable damage.

774-775 In the following spring Charles prepared for revenge, and formulated the policy of offering the Saxons the alternative of death or baptism. He marched into Saxony, seized and fortified the strong positions of Sigiburg and Eresburg—the first beginning of the network of forts that he gradually constructed throughout Saxony—and received the usual submission of the Ostfali and Angrarii, both of whom agreed, if Charles would waive the condition of forcible conversion, to admit Christian missionaries into their lands. He then turned on the Westfali, who had made an attack on his camp, and compelled them also to submit.

In the following year Charles was called away by a crisis in Italy, and the Saxons took advantage of the opportunity to break into revolt, and besieged the garrisons of Sigiburg and Eresburg. Charles hastened home, gathered a great army at Worms, and marched into Saxony, only to be met with the usual offers of surrender. He took fresh hostages, organised a more systematic mission, under one Sturm of Fulda, and built a palace and church at Paderborn.

The leader of the rising, a Westfalian chieftain named Widukind (or Witikind) fled to Denmark, and in 778 he returned and roused the Saxons to fresh rebellion. They broke into Hesse, ravaging and slaughtering, and even reached Cologne, where they burned the Church of St. Martin. The season was too far advanced for a Frankish campaign that year, but in June, 779, Charles once more led a great army into Saxony and after one pitched battle reduced the Westfali to submission. The king now built a number of forts connected with roads, reaching as far as the Elbe, which now formed the eastern frontier of the Frankish kingdom. He tried to secure the allegiance of the tribal chiefs by giving them Frank titles and large endowments. He also endeavoured to force Christianity on the Saxons by rigorous laws, and this appears to have been the cause of the rebellion that broke out as soon as he had withdrawn. Widukind was again the soul of the movement, from which the local chiefs seem to have held off. Many of them, as hostages, had lived in Francia, and had probably become reconciled to the idea of incorporation in the dominions of Charles; and they were also jealous, apparently, of the power of Widukind over the people. It was this inability to cooperate that was fatal to all the Saxon risings. In many ways the Saxons, in their relation with the Franks, remind us of the Highland clans in Scotland in their relations with the Scottish kings of the Lowlands.

Widukind, 778-779

This rebellion of 780 was perhaps the most fierce of all. Widukind even invited the help of the Slavs from beyond the Elbe, and the Christian Saxons were treated

780

with merciless cruelty. The arrival of Charles on the scene led to the usual scattering of the rebels, but when he put four thousand five hundred Saxons to the sword at Verden for complicity in the rising, a general outbreak followed, and for three years he was obliged to wage strenuous war, first defeating the enemy in the open field, and then systematically burning the villages and devastating the country. So sternly was the work done that it seemed as though the spirit of resistance was finally broken, and even Widukind abandoned the contest and submitted to baptism at Attigni, after which we hear no more of him in the history of the time.

793 A few years of peace followed, and then rebellion blazed up again. It began with the destruction of some Frankish troops who had been sent to the mouth of the Elbe in 792; and in the following year Count Theodoric, one of Charles' best generals, was slain and his army destroyed near Rustringen. This disaster, the worst that had yet befallen the royal cause in Saxony, was followed by a general repudiation of Christianity. "As a dog returns to his vomit, so did they return to the paganism which they had aforetime deserted." "They laid waste the churches that were within their border with fire and sword; they rejected the bishops and priests that were set over them; some they took prisoners and others they slew."

Charles, who was busy with his Avar campaign, conceived the idea of digging a canal between the Rezat and the Altmühl, by which he could transport his soldiers northwards or eastwards, as occasion required. But after a multitude of men had toiled at the task for

months, the swampy nature of the ground defeated the enterprise. From 794 to 799 each year had its Saxon campaign. Charles now carried out a new policy of transplanting large bodies of Saxons into Francia and filling their vacant lands with Franks, or, in the case of Holstein, with Slavs. He also carried a number of Saxon youths to Francia, and had them brought up there as ecclesiastics, so that he might be able to send missionaries of the Saxon race to evangelise their fellow-countrymen. After 803 the long record of Saxon risings ceases, and Charles was able gradually to modify the strictness of his rule. The three great Sees of Osnabruck, Bremen and Verden became centres of missionary activity, and the Saxons, now incorporated in the Empire, guarded the eastern frontiers against the Slavonic tribes beyond. A hundred years later a Saxon duke was destined to supplant the Carolingian house in East Francia, and to found a new dynasty of German sovereigns.

803

CHAPTER XVII

CHARLES, KING OF THE FRANKS, 773-799

THE story of the Saxon wars has carried us dow nearly the end of Charles' reign. We mus return to the earlier years of it and take up the of general history. For some time after his c of the Lombard kingdom, the affairs of Italy ga king some anxiety. Hadrian was tactless and what grasping in his claims on the neighbouring in Italy, and something like a general conspiracy pope and king appears to have been hatched Hrodgaud, Duke of Friuli, the Duke of Beneven the Emperor Constantine being all involved. Emperor died, the Duke of Beneventum hur and Hrodgaud was left to face the Frankis alone. The course of events that followed is s what obscure. Apparently Charles descended on Northern Italy early in 776, slew the revolting duke, dispersed his followers, and so reduced Lombardy once r re to subjection. The supporters of Hrodgaud were punished by the confiscation of their property.

The Spanish campaign, 778

Scarcely had this Italian issue been laid to rest for a time when an entirely new direction was given to Charles' policy by a visit from three rebellious Saracen

chiefs from Spain, who came to him at Paderborn to ask for his assistance against their overlord.

In 750 the Ommeyad dynasty at Damascus had been overthrown by the rival faction of the Abbassides, and urrahman, the only survivor of the family of the dispossessed caliphs, fled to North Africa, and a few years later crossed into Spain, where a series of victories made him master of the country that had been under the rule several mutually hostile chiefs. At Cordova he established the capital of a Moslem kingdom that was ed to last for nearly three centuries and to leave lible stamp on the history of Spain. It was on be- the Abbasside party that Charles was now invited rvene, and there is no reason to think that the ls motive counted for much in his decision. s Charles cherished some hope of adding Spain, ast part of it, to his dominions—perhaps he was y the mere love of adventure. Whatever the he agreed to march into Spain, the Abbasside dertaking to raise forces from Africa and in assist him—an undertaking that they failed to lt. With a great army of Franks, Lombards, Bava s and men of the southern provinces Charles set out in the spring of 778 for Saragossa. It is with some surprise that we find him, on the way, laying siege to Pampeluna, a city belonging to the little Christian kingdom of the Asturias, of which he demolished the walls. This was the only success of the expedition, of the details of which the chroniclers are strangely silent. All that is clear is that Charles turned homeward, taking one of the rebel chiefs with him

in chains, and that on the way through the defile of Roncesvalles his rearguard was attacked by the wild Basques of the Pyrenees, and a number of his nobles, including Roland, the Count of the Breton March, were slain. Around this event later ages wove a tissue of romance, of which we shall say something in a later chapter. The campaign is notable as the only unsuccessful attempt of Charles to extend the frontiers of his kingdom. It was left for his son and successor to retrieve his father's failure, and carry the frontiers of the Spanish March as far as the banks of the Ebro.

After staying a few weeks in Aquetaine, possibly to avert the danger of a rising there, Charles led his army back to Francia, and once more turned his attention to Italian affairs.

Tassilo of Bavaria

These now become entangled with the fortunes and misfortunes of Tassilo of Bavaria. We have already seen him as the rebellious vassal of his uncle King Pippin and as the ally of Charles at the beginning of his reign. The fortunes of Bavaria were naturally closely connected with those of Lombardy, from which it was only separated by the rampart of the Alps. Tassilo had married a daughter of the deposed Lombard king, and her influence would naturally be exercised to sow dissension between her husband and the king of the Franks. But behind all merely personal questions lay the deep-seated antagonism between the Germans of the north and the Germans of the south—an antagonism lasting far into the Middle Ages—if indeed it can be said to have even now entirely disappeared. There are some provinces of Europe that seem to have a natural claim to an inde-

pendent life, and yet that have always found that independence menaced by the expansion of more powerful neighbours. Burgundy and Aquetaine failed to make good their claim to a national life of their own ; Bavaria, more fortunate in the end, only succeeded by centuries of contest in avoiding the danger of absorption in the German kingdom of the north.

But though Charles might suspect Tassilo of plotting fresh treason, he could not treat a Christian power, ruled by his own first cousin, as he treated heathen Saxony or rebellious Lombardy.

His first task was to win the Pope to the support of his cause, and for that purpose he visited Rome in 781, taking with him his wife and two of his children, Carloman and Louis. Carloman was baptised by the Pope and his name changed to Pippin ; and the two boys were then anointed as Kings of Italy and Aquetaine. Charles may have thought that he could satisfy the local patriotism of these two recently annexed parts of the Frankish kingdom by this recognition of their local independence, and probably hoped that as the boys grew up they might relieve him of the details of administration in these southern provinces.

The problem of Bavaria was discussed by the king and the Pope, and Hadrian, whose friendship for Charles had been somewhat cooled by what he regarded as inadequate support in his claims against the Archbishop of Ravenna and the southern dukes, now agreed to join the king in sending an embassy to Tassilo to require him to remember his oath of allegiance. Tassilo could not afford to quarrel with the Church

authorities, on whose support his power in Bavaria depended, and accordingly "so greatly was his heart softened that he declared his willingness to proceed to the presence of the king, if such hostages could be given as would leave him no doubt of his safety". These being furnished, the Bavarian duke repaired to Worms, and there solemnly renewed his oath of allegiance and gave hostages for his obedience.

Fall of Tassilo, 787, 788

Six years passed before the affairs of Bavaria again became a cause of anxiety to Charles. The only event of importance in these years, in Italy, was the submission of Arichis, the great Duke of Beneventum, to the Frankish king. In 787 Charles again visited Rome, and the matter of Tassilo's loyalty was once more discussed between the king and the Pope. What new ground for suspicion Tassilo had given we do not know, but something in the attitude of the duke alienated the sympathy of the Pope, who, after a last attempt at reconciliation, left Charles a free hand to deal with his recalcitrant vassal. From all sides Charles poured Frankish armies into Bavaria, and Tassilo, finding resistance hopeless, made submission, handing over to the king, in token of his surrender, "a wand, the top of which was carved into the likeness of a man" —an early indication of the growth of the idea of *homage*.

But within a year Charles believed that Tassilo was renewing his schemes of rebellion, and he was summoned to Ingelheim, where he was placed on trial before the assembled magnates of the "Franks, Bavarians, Lombards and Saxons," and adjudged guilty of treason, the

gravest charge against him being that he had invited the Avars to invade the kingdom.

With all his family he was condemned to enter the monastic life, and he disappears into the monastery of Jumièges, to reappear for the last time at Frankfort in 794, when at the great council he made a final declaration of his repentance and renounced all claims on his Bavarian inheritance. Bavaria now passed under the direct rule of the Frankish king.

The annexation of Bavaria brought the kingdom of Charles to the borders of the old Roman province of Pannonia, which was now occupied by the Avars. We have seen already how this tribe from Central Asia disturbed the Byzantine emperors and even attacked Constantinople itself. Since then they had settled in Pannonia, where they occupied themselves with agriculture and raids on the western provinces of Europe. The Bavarian dukes had been the defenders of the frontier against these heathen marauders and Charles now took up the duty. A raid made by the Avars in 788, which was checked by the Count of the Marches, gave him an excuse for organising a great crusade against them. The Avars

The various tribes of the Avars lived in fortified kraals or "rings," the largest of them being that of the *Chagan* or head chief, west of the Raab. Here, protected by nine concentric ramparts, "as wide across as from Zurich to Constance," the accumulated treasures of two centuries of plundering were stored.

After some ineffective attempts at negotiation, probably undertaken merely to gain time for military pre-

parations, Charles led his army against the Avars. The ground on which the Frankish magnates agreed to the expedition was "the great and intolerable malice which the Avars had shown towards the Holy Church and the
791 Christian people". The campaign, started in 791, was undertaken in something of the spirit of a crusade, opening with three days of fasting and litanies. The Frankish army marched along both banks of the Danube, the commissariat being conveyed down the river in boats. The expedition was little more than a military parade. The Avars, who were divided among themselves, made no resistance, though Charles penetrated as far as the Raab, returning to Ratisbon in time for Christmas.

This was the only campaign against the Avars led by Charles in person. The conduct of the war fell to Eric,
795 Duke of Friuli, a devout and noble soldier, who in 795 penetrated to the central fortress of the Chagan, took possession of the vast stores of treasure hoarded in this stronghold, and sent them to Charles at Aachen in fifteen great waggons. The king gave rich gifts to his nobles and sent presents to the Pope and others, including Offa, king of Mercia, who received "a baldric, a Hunnish sword and two silk cloaks". In the following year Pippin, king of Italy, completed the destruction of the Avar kingdom and drove the Avars beyond the Theiss. A desultory war went on along the frontier for some years, partly against the remnants of the Avars and partly against Slavonic tribes that pressed in to settle in the vacant lands. In 799 the valiant Gerold, Duke of Bavaria, brother of Charles' wife Hildegarde, fell in contest with some Avars, and in the same year

the heroic Eric of Friuli died, slain in an ambush laid by the Croatians. Paulinus, Bishop of Aquileia, who had dedicated to him a book of devotional meditations some years before, now wrote a dirge for his friend modelled on David's lament over Saul.

The remnants of the Avar people accepted Christianity, and settled in the Ostmark, and Slav tribes filled the vacant province of the middle Danube, till a fresh inroad of Turanian people from beyond the confines of Europe—the Magyars—reoccupied the lands from which Huns and Avars had been successively driven.

Domestic affairs

While these wars were going on Charles was occupied with the internal affairs of his kingdom. In the year 783 he lost his wife Hildegarde and his mother Bertha. A few months after, he married Fastrada, the daughter of an Austrasian count, a woman of strong but apparently harsh and vindictive character. To her influence Einhard attributes not a few of Charles' unpopular acts during this period of his reign. An obscure revolt of the Thuringian nobles in 886 is said to have been due to her actions; and just after the first Avar campaign Charles had to meet a more serious conspiracy, in which the leading part was played by Pippin the Hunchback, Charles' son by an early irregular marriage. The plot was betrayed and the leaders arrested and condemned to death. Pippin was allowed to enter the monastery of Prum, where he disappears from history. Two years later Fastrada died, and Charles married, as his fourth wife, Liutgarda of Suabia.

The year 798 was one of disturbance in the kingdom. The Avar war was still going on and the Saxons were,

as usual, turbulent. In addition to this the Saracens broke into Septimania, which they ravaged, carrying off many of the inhabitants into slavery; and Grimwald, Duke of Beneventum, whom Charles had held as a hostage during his father's lifetime, but had allowed to return to the duchy after his death, threw off his allegiance and became the centre of the anti-Frankish party in Italy.

A few years before this, a quarrel between Charles and the Empire led to an invasion of Southern Italy by the "Greeks," who were met by a combined Frankish and Lombard force under the Dukes of Spoleto and Beneventum and completely defeated. But after this the young Duke of Beneventum grew more restive under the Frankish yoke, and in 791 Pippin and Louis were ordered by their father to invade the duchy. Beyond devastating part of the territory they do not appear to have achieved much success. The contest with Beneventum lingered on for years, resolving itself into a duel between Pippin, king of Italy, assisted by the Duke of Spoleto, and Grimwald. Finally the death of Grimwald, in 806, led to the secession of hostilities.

Charles and Offa

To make the account of these years complete, something must be said about Charles' relations with Offa, king of Mercia, now overlord of the greater part of England. The two kings appear to have become acquainted in connection with Offa's scheme for an Archbishopric of Lichfield, and they carried on a correspondence for some years. Offa is even said to have invited Charles to join him, in 787, in deposing Hadrian from the Papal chair. A little later a quarrel broke out

between the two kings, in connection with a proposed marriage of Offa's daughter with Charles' eldest son and namesake. For some reason, a suggestion by Offa that Charles' daughter Bertha should marry his son aroused the Frankish king's resentment. For some time the relations between the two kings were strained, and an embargo was laid by Charles on English merchants travelling through his kingdom. But the influence of Alcuin was exercised in favour of peace, and in 795 Charles writes in the friendliest terms to his "beloved friend and brother Offa":—

"As for pilgrims, who wish to approach the threshold of the apostles, let them travel in peace without any molestation. Let merchants pay toll at the accustomed places; we take them under our protection. If they have any complaints, let them come to us or to our judges, and they shall have justice. We send herewith some dalmatics and palls from our store to your bishops' sees, and to those of Ethelfrid, begging that you will have intercession made for the soul of Pope Hadrian; also we send you a baldric, a Hunnish sword and two silk cloaks."

Offa died soon after this, and Charles' further relations with England belong to a later period.

Ecclesiastical affairs

Charles' ecclesiastical policy, during the pontificate of Hadrian, turns almost entirely around two controversies. The first of these was the so-called Adoptionist heresy. This was propounded by a Spanish monk, Felix, Bishop of Urgel, who taught that Jesus Christ was a man who was *adopted* by God as His Son. Having obtained from the Pope a condemnation of this doctrine, Charles held

a series of councils for its condemnation, Alcuin being specially the champion of orthodoxy.

The other was the Iconoclastic controversy, in regard to which it was necessary for the Frankish Church to define its position. At the second Council of Nicæa Irene had secured the restoration of image-worship, and thus brought the policy of the Empire into accord with that of the Pope. But Charles was not disposed to submit to the dictation of the Eastern Court, and in 790 he caused to be drawn up an elaborate refutation of image-worship—the celebrated *Libri Carolini*. His attitude towards the whole question was one of toleration. "Let pictures be in the churches if so desired, to preserve in the minds of the people the memory of Bible stories; but their presence there should be optional, not compulsory, and as to insisting on their being worshipped, as the impertinent and arrogant council at Bithynia had lately done, that could in nowise be tolerated."

In 794 Charles called a council of Frankish bishops at Frankfort, when the seventh Ecumenical Council was formally condemned as "neither seventh nor ecumenical, but absolutely superfluous". Charles also addressed a letter to the Pope, inviting him to join in the condemnation of the image-worshippers. Hadrian sent a long reply, pointing out what he regarded as the errors of Charles' position, and winding up with the usual appeal for the restoration of the "Patrimonies of St. Peter" in Southern Italy and Sicily. Shortly after this Hadrian died, and with the appointment of his successor begins the course of events that led to the coronation of Charles as Roman Emperor five years later.

CHAPTER XVIII

CAROLUS IMPERATOR

FOR thirty years Charles had reigned as king of the Franks, and during this period he had extended the frontiers of his kingdom in all directions till it included, excepting Spain and Britain, all, and more than all, the European lands that had owned the sway of the Roman Empire. But the Empire still lived on in its new capital in the East, and there is no reason to think that Charles ever contemplated, during the first twenty-five years of his reign, the idea of superseding the somewhat shadowy authority that the Byzantine rulers exercised over Italy. But, inevitably, his relations with the ecclesiastical world drew him more and more into the position of protector of the Pope, especially as the Iconoclastic controversy had practically severed whatever bonds of allegiance bound the Popes to the Isaurian Emperors.

Yet the anomalous condition of Europe might have lasted on for much longer had not Irene's rise to power destroyed whatever respect had been felt in the west for the Imperial house. Europe was, for the first time, without an emperor, and just at this moment a series of events happened that made an emperor specially necessary.

Leo III., 795-816

At the end of the year 795 Hadrian died, and Leo III. was elected in his place. The new Pope was apparently the nominee of a party, and there is some reason to think that rumours unfavourable to his integrity and moral conduct had reached Charles. At all events, in signifying his assent to the appointment, the king lays stress on the importance to a Pope of purity of life and honourable conduct. He pictures the relation between the Pope and himself as like that between Moses praying on the mountain and Joshua smiting the enemies of the Lord in the valley below. "It is ours, with the help of the Divine piety, externally to defend the Holy Church of Christ by our arms from all pagan inroads and infidel devastations, and internally to fortify it by the recognition of the Christian faith. It is yours, holy Father, with hands raised to God like Moses, to help our warfare; that by your intercession the Christian people may everywhere have the victory over its enemies, and the name of our Lord Jesus Christ may be magnified throughout the whole world."

From the first, difficulties gathered round the path of the new Pope. Two of the nephews of the late Pope, Paschalis and Campulus, took the lead in opposing his authority. But four years passed before the conspirators felt strong enough to act, and then, having spread scandalous reports against the character of the Pope, they proceeded to seize him, in April, 799, as he was riding through the streets of Rome. Their purpose was to adopt the barbarous Byzantine custom of blinding their captive and cutting out his tongue, but for some reason the brutal work was only half done, and Leo was

B.M. Breton March
R. Roncesvalles
Sept. Septimania
Frisia
SAXONY
Abotrites
Paderborn
Aachen
Cologne
Wiltzes
Roder
Kingdom of Khazars
R. Onieper
Britanny
Soissons
Paris
Metz
Mainz
Worms
AUSTRASIA
Bohemians
NEUSTRIA
Orleans
Tours
Rhine
ALLE MANNIA
BAVARIA
Ost Mark
Magyars
Avars
AQUETAINE
BURGUNDY
Lombardy
Pavia
R. Po
Venice
R. Danube
Kingdom of the Asturias
R.
Toulouse
Sept.
Arles
Pampeluna
R. Tagus
Narbonne
Ravenna
Kingdom of the Bulgarians
Spoleto
Rome
Constantinople
Benevento
Carthagena
Empire of Charles
Byzantine Empire
B.V. Barbishire, Oxford, 1909.

rescued by some friends and taken to St. Peter's Church, outside the walls, whence he was conducted into safety by the Duke of Spoleto.

Having driven out the Pope the conspirators appear to have had no further plans. They did not set up an antipope or organise any sort of government in Rome.

The events that had happened were reported to Charles, then engaged in one of his Saxon campaigns. He instructed his lieutenants to send the Pope to Paderborn. Thither accordingly Leo repaired, accompanied by a great train of nobles and ecclesiastics. He was accorded a respectful welcome, and requested to consecrate the new church at Paderborn. He stayed at the Frankish Court for some months, and then returned to Rome, accompanied by a number of leading Frankish ecclesiastics and counts. These companions of his journey constituted the body of commissioners appointed by Charles to hear the accusations against Leo and give judgment on them. But where, in all this, do the rights of the nominal overlord of the Pope find recognition? And if the Pope felt it useless to turn to the Byzantine ruler for protection and vindication, did not that fact in itself imply that Rome was free to beget a new Emperor as she had begotten the Augustus of eight hundred years before?

Leo's return to Rome was a great contrast to his departure a few months before. The Romans, anxious to avert the possible vengeance of Charles, or perhaps influenced by a genuine revulsion of feeling, poured out to welcome the returning Pope, who entered the city amid tumultuous signs of rejoicing. The com-

missioners summoned Paschalis and Campulus before them, adjudged their accusations as groundless, and sent them to Francia for Charles to deal with.

In the months that elapsed before Charles was free to visit Rome again an interesting and significant incident occurred in the arrival of an embassy from the Patriarch of Jerusalem, bringing relics and gifts to the Frankish king. A little later a second envoy brought to Charles the banner of Jerusalem and the keys of the Holy Sepulchre.

It would appear as though the Christians now living under Moslem rule in the East, despairing of help from Constantinople, were turning to the great Western power as the champion of the cause of Christendom.

Charles' visit to Rome, 800

Early in the year 800 Charles set out for Rome, stopping on the way to visit the great Abbey of St. Martin at Tours, where Alcuin was now installed as abbot. It was his first visit to Neustria for more than twenty years. His stay at Tours was prolonged and saddened by the death of his wife Liutgarda. After leaving Tours he travelled to Paris, Aachen and Mainz, and then, in the autumn, moved south with a considerable army and crossed the Alps, arriving at the end of November at Rome, where he was welcomed with much ceremony.

His earliest task was to lay finally to rest the charges that had been made against Leo, and at a great assembly of the Roman Church dignitaries a last opportunity was given for any who wished to accuse the Pope. No accusers being forthcoming, Leo solemnly purged himself on oath of all the charges that had been made by his enemies.

Two days later, on Christmas Day, 800, during the mass at St. Peter's, which was attended by the king and his Frankish nobles, the Pope suddenly produced a golden crown which he placed on the head of Charles, while the whole assembled congregation joined in the shout, "To Charles Augustus, crowned of God, the great and pacific Emperor, long life and victory". Charles was then invested with the Imperial insignia and a solemn litany sung, invoking the protection of the saints on the new Emperor.

Such a ceremony as this must have been prearranged, and it is difficult to believe that the Pope would have conferred the Imperial title on Charles without first ascertaining that he would approve. Yet there is some reason for thinking that Charles was taken by surprise. Einhard says that he afterwards declared that he would never have entered the church on that day if he had foreseen the Pope's design. This may be only a sigh of regret from one who found that the Imperial dignity had brought more anxiety than pleasure; but it may mean that, though the idea of the Imperial restoration had been discussed, the Pope brought the matter prematurely to an issue.

The significance of the Imperial revival

To Charles' Frankish nobles and to the people of Rome the coronation would have meant little more than the recognition of existing facts. For all practical purposes Charles had already succeeded to the rights and responsibilities that the Byzantine rulers could no longer effectively fulfil. And as, fifty years before, Zacharias, on the ground that he who exercised the powers of king should have the name of king, had sanc-

tioned the setting aside of the last Merovingian, so now it seemed good that he who exercised Imperial functions and ruled over the Imperial cities in the west should have the title of Emperor.

To the Pope the crowning of Charles meant the final repudiation of the authority of the Emperor at Constantinople. Any attempt of the Eastern Empire to interfere in Italy would now have to reckon with the power of Charles and his Frankish armies. It probably meant little more.

In after-ages vast claims were destined to grow out of the Papal share in this restoration of the Western Empire—claims that Leo could only have foreseen very dimly, if indeed he foresaw them at all.

But what did it mean to Charles? It meant the consecration of his mission as the guardian and protector of the Christian faith—the ratification of the relationship that had been growing up through centuries between the old world and the new. As Constantine and his successors had ruled the Empire from Constantinople, so now a new line of emperors would rule it from Aachen. Logically, the transfer of the Imperial title involved the denial of the right of the Byzantine rulers to it; but Charles had no wish to push the theory to this logical issue, and was prepared to admit the authority of the existing Imperial house in the east so long as he might remain unchallenged Emperor in the west.

The Imperial office, in his conception of it, involved a definite moral responsibility. No Pope interpreted his office as vicegerent of God more strictly than did

the new Emperor. The spirit in which he tried to rule is shown by the *Capitulary* of 802, which prescribed a new oath on all his subjects. "It shall be publicly explained to all what is the force and meaning of this oath, and how much more it includes than a mere promise of fidelity to the monarch's person. Firstly, it binds those who swear it to live, each and every one of them, according to his strength and knowledge, in the holy service of God; since the Lord Emperor cannot extend over all his care and discipline. Secondly, it binds them neither by force nor fraud to seize or molest any of the goods or servants of his crown. Thirdly, to do no violence nor treason towards the Holy Church, or to widows or orphans or strangers, seeing that the Lord Emperor has been appointed, after the Lord and His saints, the protector and defender of all such."

Capitulary of 802

It was in the ecclesiastical authority that he deemed himself to have as Roman Emperor that he hoped to find the bond of union that should bind together all the peoples whom the might of the Frankish sword had brought under his sway. Over Franks, Bavarians, Saxons, Lombards, the Church had thrown the meshwork of a common organisation. This organisation centred in Rome, and as master of Rome Charles might hope to extend his authority wherever the claims of Rome were recognised.

The great scheme broke down, chiefly because old tribal feelings were too strong and the new bond of union too weak. But the coronation of Charles the Great is not only the beginning of an experiment that failed, it is much more truly the culmination of a process that had

brought the vigorous and turbulent life of the Teutonic peoples under the sway of those conceptions of ordered rule and discipline that were the greatest legacy that the old Rome of Augustus and Antoninus had bequeathed to the newer Rome of Gregory and Hadrian.

From Rome Charles returned to Germany in the following year, and the last fourteen years of his reign were spent in organisation and legislation. No fresh lands were added to his Empire, but the existing provinces were bound into closer union.

It is said that Charles contemplated a marriage with Irene, so uniting East and West. But the story is extremely improbable, and the revolution at Constantinople, which was due partly to the revolt of the west, soon brought Irene's period of rule to an end. From the new Emperor Charles succeeded, after tedious negotiations, in securing a partial recognition of his title. The most important events of 804 were the end of the Saxon war and a visit of the Pope to Aachen.

Closing years of Charles' reign

To Charles' Court came messengers from many lands. There Egbert of Wessex found refuge when expelled from England by Bertric. The extent of Charles' interference in English affairs is not very clear, but he probably assisted Egbert's return in 802, and perhaps inspired the policy that gave to Wessex twenty-five years later the overlordship of England. In 808 another dispossessed English king, Eardulf of Northumbria, came to ask for help at the Imperial Court, and by the joint help of Emperor and Pope was restored to his throne.

From the far East came an embassy from the

great Caliph Haroun-al-Raschid, bringing an elephant "Abulahaz" as a gift to the new Emperor.

But under the outward prosperity of Charles' closing years there were not wanting ominous indications of danger. The northern coasts were already being plundered by Scandinavian pirates, and the Saracens were beginning to harry the shores of the Mediterranean. Danes and Slavs were restive on the frontiers. The story told by the monk of St. Gall of how Charles, sitting at meat in his palace at Narbonne, saw the white sails of a Viking ship, and wept bitterly as he foretold the woes that were coming on his subjects, though probably a later legend, expresses a true fact. Charles' last years must sometimes have been saddened by forebodings of possible disaster.

They were saddened also by domestic grief. In 810 Pippin, the brave and noble young king of Italy, died at the early age of thirty-three while campaigning in Dalmatia. Next year the Emperor's eldest son Charles died, and Louis alone remained to inherit the kingdom. In 813 Charles held a great assembly at Aachen, at which he presented his son to the nobles as his successor. Early in the following year he died, in the seventy-second year of his age and the forty-seventh of his reign.

Aachen

Until the accession of Charles the Frankish kingdom had no fixed capital. In the early part of his reign he carried on the administration of his kingdom chiefly from his three palaces at Worms, Ingelheim and Nimuegen. But after 795 he made his home at the city between the Rhine and the Meuse that the Romans

called Aquæ Grani, the German Aachen and the French Aix-la-Chapelle. Charles was attracted to the place by its hot medicinal springs, and there he built a palace and a church, for the adornment of which churches at Rome and Ravenna were plundered of their treasures. Around Aachen stretched wide parks, where Charles and his courtiers rode and hunted.

Personal character of Charles

Of Charles' personal character and habits his biographer Einhard gives us much interesting information. He was a mighty eater, with a special love for roast meats, and found the Church's rules of fasting hard to observe. In the matter of drink he was temperate, and strove to discourage drunkenness among his officers and courtiers. He was wont to have books read to him at the evening meal—either history or the works of St. Augustine, whose *City of God* was his special favourite. He knew Latin and some Greek, but in spite of earnest efforts never succeeded in learning to write. He was interested in the literature of his native land and tried to preserve the old Teutonic ballads of the Franks of which he had a collection made. Unfortunately his successor, Louis the Pious, deeming them mere relics of paganism, caused the book to be destroyed.

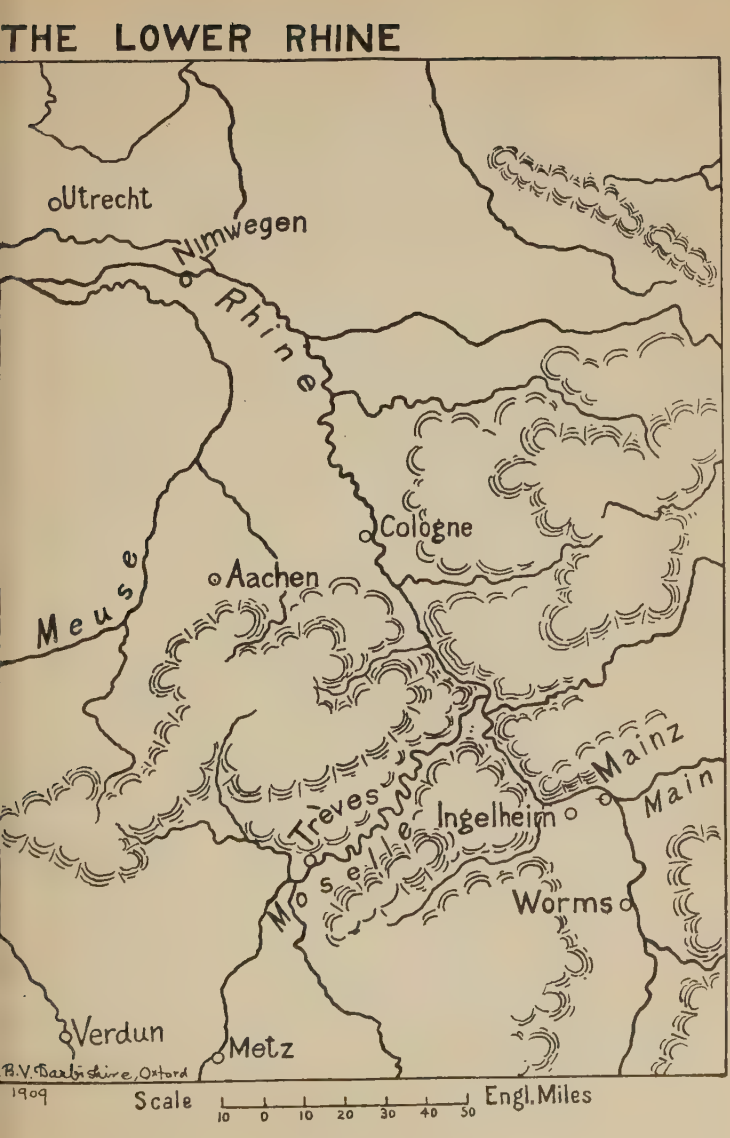
Of his personal appearance and habits Einhard has much to tell. "His gait was firm, all the habit of his body manly; his voice clear but scarcely corresponding to his stature; his health good, except that during the last four years of his life he was often attacked with fever, and at the last he limped with one foot. He guided himself much more by his own fancy than by the

counsel of his physicians, whom he disliked because they tried to persuade him to give up roast meats, to which he was accustomed, and to take to boiled. He kept up diligently his exercises of riding and hunting, in which he followed the custom of his nation. He delighted in the steam of hot-water baths, being a frequent and skilful swimmer. Not only did he invite his sons to the bath, but also his friends and nobles, sometimes even a crowd of courtiers and bodyguards, so that at times as many as a hundred men or more would be bathing together.

"He loved foreigners, and took the greatest pains to entertain them, so that their number often seemed a real burden, not only to the palace but even to the kingdom.

"He was full even to overflowing with eloquence, and could express all his ideas with great clearness. He was in truth so eloquent that he seemed like a professional rhetorician.

"He was a devout and zealous supporter of the Christian religion, in which he had been instructed from infancy. He regularly attended the church that he had built at Aquisgranum morning and evening, and also in the hours of the night and at the time of sacrifice, as far as his health permitted; and he took great pains that all the rites celebrated there should be performed with the greatest decorum, constantly admonishing the ministers of the church that they should not allow anything dirty or unbecoming to be brought there. He took great pains to reform the style of reading and singing, in both of which he was highly accomplished."


THE LOWER RHINE
Utrecht
Nimwegen
Rhine
Cologne
Aachen
Meuse
Mainz
Main
Treves
Moselle
Ingelheim
Worms
Verdun
Metz
B.V. Darbyshire, Oxford
1909
Scale
10 0 10 20 30 40 50
Engl. Miles

Of the genuineness of his piety there can be no doubt. He was anxious not only to further the extension of Christianity but also to purify it of the corruptions that threatened to destroy its vitality. A certain grim humour appears in some of the stories that tradition has handed down of his dealings with worldly and grasping ecclesiastics.

While his sons were provided, as they grew up, with local courts of their own, his daughters remained at home, and travelled with him when he moved about his kingdom. "As those daughters were most beautiful and he loved them dearly, it was strange that he never gave one of them in marriage, either to one of his own people or to a foreigner, but kept them always with him in the house till the day of his death, declaring that he could not dispense with their daily companionship." Einhard hints at scandals that Charles bore with fortitude; and no doubt there was a less pleasing side to the life of the Frankish Court. Charles himself was far from immaculate, judged by the standard of strict Christian principle. But the life of courts has seldom proved a training-ground of domestic virtues, and on the whole the court of Charles the Great stands out in the chronicles of the time as an oasis of cheerful home life amid the wars and turbulence of a rough and uncouth age.

CHAPTER XIX

LAW AND ADMINISTRATION IN THE EMPIRE

CHARLES inherited from his predecessors the administrative system that the Frankish rulers had gradually developed out of the primitive Teutonic arrangements that the Franks had brought with them from their northern home. To this he added from time to time, so that by the end of his reign the Empire was governed by a system of administration that appeared adequate and efficient. But as a matter of fact it was neither, for Charles was unable to develop an efficient and trustworthy body of officials. The Byzantine Empire was strong, even when it seemed most weak, because it was served by a body of well-trained and well-paid civil servants; but the Carolingian Empire was weak, even when it seemed strongest, because Charles had to depend on officers who were untrained and unpaid. But the Byzantine Empire only retained its bureaucratic system by a burden of taxation such as Charles dared not lay on the shoulders of his free Franks, or even on the subject nations of his Empire. The burden of military service, and the tithes that were levied by royal authority for religious purposes, often provoked strong resentment, and the expense of government had consequently to be kept down at all costs. But this

could only be done by acting through unpaid agents who were likely to prove either inefficient or corrupt.

The Emperor

At the head of the whole system was the Emperor, who as Emperor recognised no earthly superior, but as king of the Franks was bound to act in consultation with his great nobles and, at least nominally, with the armed warriors who assembled every spring at the annual "Mayfield". A smaller gathering was held in the autumn, at which probably only the great magnates attended. It was at these assemblies that fresh laws were promulgated and questions of peace or war decided.

The two most important outlying provinces of the Empire—Italy and Aquetaine—Charles entrusted to his two younger sons, who each had a court of his own and was left free in the administration of his own kingdom, subject to the general control of the Emperor.

The dukes of the other great provinces had been dispossessed in favour of the direct authority of the Frankish king, but along all the frontier of the Empire a new and important class of officers had grown up in the

Margraves

Margraves of the Marches. In the South the Duke of Spoleto acted as margrave and carried on a desultory war with the Lombard Duke of Beneventum. The Margrave of Friuli defended the eastern frontiers of Italy, and the province of Istria was also a kind of March on the eastern frontier of the Frankish kingdom.

Along the Danube the Ostmark, ruled by two margraves, kept back the flood of Slavonic invasion from Bavaria, and farther north, in Bohemia, the Empire had driven a wedge of conquest into the Eastern

Slavonic world. Along the Elbe, and on the Danish frontier, other margraves kept watch, and the circle of frontier defences was completed by the Breton March, where Roland was at one time warden, and the Spanish March in the south, where the Count of Toulouse waged almost constant war against the Saracens.

To complete the defences of the Empire a Frankish fleet was constructed which guarded the channel, for a while, from the raids of the Norsemen.

Local administration

Internally the Empire was divided into counties (*pagus*), each ruled by a count nominally appointed by the Emperor, but really holding the position of a local hereditary magnate. Each count had his court or *mallus* in the central town of his county. The custom of the Frankish kingdom was that every man should be judged by the law of his own nation. But in practice this resolved itself into a sort of equitable jurisdiction based partly on common sense, partly on the personal will of the count, from whom impartial justice could hardly be expected in matters where his own interests were affected. The *pagus* was subdivided into hundreds, each under a local officer appointed by the count.

The *missi dominici*

Into this system the Emperor introduced two changes. The Frankish kings were accustomed to send *missi* on various errands into the provinces of the kingdom. Charles now created a new body of permanent *missi dominici*, leading nobles of the kingdom who travelled around definite circuits supervising the local administration and acting as inspectors of all departments of government. But several things rendered their work ineffective. The circuits were too large for effective

supervision; the *missi* were unpaid and only held office for short periods; and the local counts appear to have evaded their control in various ways—as, for example, by persuading suitors to hold back their cases till the unwelcome intruders had paid their visit.

The other change was the creation of a kind of jury of *scabini*, who were intended to act with the count in the administration of justice. But for various reasons these *scabini* do not appear to have been an effective body, and local justice continued to depend on the count.

Central government

The central government was nominally a bureaucracy, really an autocracy. Charles had his archchaplain for the management of ecclesiastical business and a body of Counts of the Palace (*comes palatii*), one for each nation of the Empire, who were supposed to deal with appeals from the local counts, the most important being referred to the Emperor. But in fact the Emperor, partly because of the dearth of competent officers, and partly through the unwillingness of a strong ruler to delegate power, retained in his own hands the actual work of government. A suitor who could secure access to the Emperor could generally count on justice, and at the Mayfield assemblies Charles mixed freely with his subjects; but a system built up around the person of the sovereign was bound to break down when his powers grew enfeebled with age or his sceptre passed into hands less able to wield it.

The lack of a trained body of secular officials threw Charles back on the support of the great ecclesiastics who were already rising to a position of great wealth and influence. The work of resumption of Church lands,

that had cost Charles Martel the goodwill of the monkish chroniclers, now began to be undone.

Two significant facts appear in the *Capitularies* of the closing years of the reign. One is the growing difficulty of securing from the freemen of the Empire the military service that they were liable to furnish. Now that the wars of the Emperor were no longer wars of conquest, in which plunder and glory might be gained, the interruption of ordinary life caused by military service was resented. To meet this difficulty a new system was adopted that was destined to have far-reaching consequences. Liability to military service was now made territorial instead of personal; a certain area of land being made responsible for furnishing a warrior to the host, the inhabitants sharing the duty or furnishing a deputy. Beginning of Feudalism

The other significant fact is the growth of the system of vassalage. Freemen began to commend themselves to the local count or ecclesiastic, securing protection in return for certain services. So begins the feudal system, of the development of which more must be said in a later chapter. The Frankish kingdom had held together while the process of conquest had kept alive the sentiment of loyalty; as soon as the extension of the kingdom ceased, local feeling reasserted itself, and this process of disintegration had begun even before Charles handed on the sceptre to the less masterful hands of his son.

Charles made no attempt to compile a legal code for his Empire, but he endeavoured to reduce the various national systems of law, under which the peoples of his Legislation

Empire were living, to better order. "After his assumption of the Imperial title," says Einhard, "as he perceived that many things were lacking in the laws of his people, he thought to add those things that were wanting, to reconcile discrepancies, and to correct what was bad and ill expressed. But of all this he accomplished nothing, except that he added a few chapters, and those imperfect ones, to the laws of the Franks. All the legal customs, however, of the various nations under his sway, he caused to be committed to writing, if they were not already written."

But it is in his *Capitularies* that the legislative activity of Charles shows itself. These *Capitularies* were edicts issued by the Emperor from time to time (many of them before his acceptance of the Imperial title), in consultation with his nobles, regulating the affairs of Church and State. They were collected into books in the ninth century, but they are not to be thought of as a code of law. Some of them are royal proclamations, some ordinances, some instructions to the *missi* or answers to their questions. Some appear to be no more than notes, jotted down by the Emperor, of things he wanted to remember. In his *History of Civilisation* Guizot attempts to classify these *Capitularies* according to subject-matter. It would be impossible to deal with them in any detail here. They show the wide range of Charles' administrative activity and the sincerity of his efforts to enforce the Christian moral standard on his people. In all probability many of them remained pious opinions, pointing to a standard of life far in advance of anything that the Frankish kingdom was capable of reaching.

CHAPTER XX

ALCUIN AND THE REVIVAL OF LEARNING. JOHN SCOTUS

IN the sixth and seventh centuries learning in Europe was reduced to a very low ebb. Schools were rare, and the Church authorities had already begun to frown on secular studies as corrupting to the student.

In the early part of the seventh century Isidore, Bishop of Seville, had a high reputation for learning. He was a voluminous writer, and his books formed the text-books for students in the schools of Western Europe till the tenth century. But there is little in them of real value, and after his death, in 636, no great man of learning appears in Western Europe till the coming of Alcuin.

While, however, the study of the great writers of the ancient world decayed on the continent, it began in Ireland, where the coming of Christianity was accompanied by a great literary revival. The Irish, or "Scots" as they are called by contemporary chroniclers, became not only messengers of Christianity but also of culture. Till the Norse invasions of the eighth century Ireland remained a home of literature and of students. Ireland

From Ireland the lamp of learning was passed on to the neighbouring island. England also received educational stimulus from another source, for Theodore Northumbria

of Tarsus, sent from Rome to organise the Church in England, brought with him Hadrian, Abbot of St. Peter's, Rome, under whom a flourishing school began at Canterbury. Under his influence an Englishman, Benedict Biscop, founded a great library at Wearmouth, in Northumbria, where the influence of the northern missionaries was still strong. At Malmesbury also a Scottish teacher, Mailduf, set up a school, which grew and flourished. But it was at Jarrow, a daughter house of the monastery of Wearmouth, that English learning found its greatest representative in the scholar whom later ages have loved to call the "Venerable" Bede. Born in 673, Bede spent his whole life at the monastery of Jarrow. "While attentive to the rules of my order and the service of the Church, my constant pleasure lay in learning, teaching or writing." Bede had nothing of the hostility towards secular learning that we find in Gregory the Great and other Church leaders on the continent. He loved Virgil and the other Latin poets, and was familiar with Plato and Aristotle. His life was spent in teaching and writing. Crowds of students flocked to him, and over forty works remained after his death to attest his literary activity. On his death, in 735, the educational centre of England shifted to York, where Egbert, the bishop (afterwards archbishop), developed the school that Wilfred had founded. Northumbria remained the most important centre of learning in Western Europe till the Danish invasions destroyed its prosperity and peace.

But before this the revival of learning had passed from Northumbria to the Court of Charles the Great

The earliest men of learning to arrive at the Frankish Court were "Scots" from Ireland, and they were followed by Alcuin.

Alcuin

Alcuin or Albinus, as he called himself, was a Northumbrian by birth, and had been brought up in Egbert's school at York, where he became the favourite pupil of the archbishop. Ethelbert, who succeeded Egbert as headmaster of the school, used Alcuin on various confidential missions, one of which brought him to the Court of Charles the Great about the year 773. On this occasion he was apparently sent on by Charles to Rome on some business in which he was concerned. When Ethelbert succeeded as archbishop, Alcuin became practically head of the school, and on the retirement of the archbishop he was sent to Rome for the pall for his successor, Eanbald. On the way he met Charles at Parma and received a pressing invitation to return with him to Francia. He returned home to obtain leave of absence from the archbishop, and then settled down in the dominions of Charles, which he never quitted again except for a short visit of two years to Northumbria, from 791 to 792. At the Frankish Court he became head of the Palace School and practically Minister of Education.

The Palace School, originally established in the days of the Merovingian kings for the education of the kings' sons and the sons of the nobles of the court, was developed by Charles into a kind of court university of learned men whom he gathered from all parts. He himself attended lectures with his sons, and succeeded in learning Latin and Greek. But Charles also desired

to extend education throughout his realm, and in a famous capitulary of 787 he ordered the establishment of schools in connection with every monastery in his kingdom. In the organisation of these schools, and in providing text-books for them, Alcuin took a leading part. He was endowed by the king with the revenues of the monastery of St. Lupus at Troyes and Bethlehem at Ferrières.

He also took a leading share in the theological controversies of the time. It was the outbreak of the Adoptionist heresy that brought him back from England in 792, and at the Council of Frankfort he was the leading champion of orthodoxy. How large a share he had in the events that led to the coronation of Charles in 800 we do not know; but some expressions in his letters to the king suggest that the restoration of the Imperial office in the West had been discussed between them. After 792 he settled at the great monastery of St. Martin at Tours, of which he became abbot, and there he spent the rest of his life, carrying on a constant correspondence with Charles and other friends at the court.

The court school

The learned men of the court were apparently a merry crew. They bandy jests and exchange riddles, and adopt for epistolary purposes the names of classical or biblical characters. Thus Charles becomes David; Alcuin, Flaccus Albinus; Angilbert, Homer; and the king's daughters and friends appear similarly disguised. The king himself entered with zest into the battle of wits, and loved to perplex his learned men with conundrums.

Several other scholars joined the court at about the same time as Alcuin. Peter of Pisa, who had formerly taught at Pavia, came to Francia about 780, already an old man, and taught grammar there till his death some years later. A more notable man reached Aachen a little later in Paul the Deacon, the historian of the Lombards. He came to the court to plead for his brother, who had been imprisoned, and his property confiscated, for his share in some Lombard rising. He became a special favourite with the king, and stayed at the court for a good many years, finally retiring to Monte Cassino, where he died.

Einhard

Another literary colleague of Alcuin was Einhard (or Eginhard), who was educated at the monastery of Fulda and came to the Frankish Court as a young man. He became a close friend of the king, who employed him in various important public works. His skill in all manner of metal work earned him the nickname, in the palace circle, of Bezaleel. About the year 826 he and his wife parted to enter religious houses, and Einhard retired to the monastery of Seligenstadt, where he died about 840.

Part of Einhard's work appears to have been superintending the compilation of the official annals of the reign, but the literary work by which he is now chiefly remembered is his life of Charles the Great. The *De Vita Caroli Magni* is modelled on Suetonius' life of Augustus, and is of course warmly eulogistic. But there is no reason to doubt the substantial accuracy of the picture presented to us of the king and his court, as Einhard knew both from personal experience.

Though the ultimate aim of the education given in the palace and monastic schools was the study of theology, Alcuin did not discourage the liberal arts, and the attitude of the Roman authorities towards these grew more favourable. But towards the end of his life, Alcuin seems to have felt some fear lest the study of classical literature might take too prominent a place in the educational system.

The revival of learning

One of the most important services that Charles and Alcuin did for sound learning was the collecting and copying of the texts of the classical authors. Many of these had been copied and recopied by ignorant clerks till they had become almost unintelligible. The texts were now revised by competent scholars and then copied in the *scriptoria* of the monasteries in the beautiful Roman characters that now superseded the clumsy uncial letters.

The text of the Holy Scriptures and the service books of the Church were also carefully revised, and in the last year of Charles' life we read of him as "correcting, with the assistance of certain learned Greeks and Syrians, the four gospels of Jesus Christ".

Strenuous efforts were made to encourage sound learning in the monasteries and cathedral schools. In a letter to the Archbishop of Mainz Charles writes: "You are striving by God's help to conquer souls, and yet you are not anxious to instruct your clergy in letters, at which I cannot be too astonished. You see on all sides those who have submitted to your rule plunged in the darkness of ignorance, and you leave them in their blindness." In a kind of Imperial rescript, addressed

to the bishops and abbots of his realm, he says: "We have thought fit that, in all bishoprics and monasteries entrusted by Christ's grace to our government, care should be taken not only to live regularly and in conformity with holy religion, but also to study letters seriously, to teach and to learn, each man according to his ability, and by the help of God, so that the religious rule of life, which brings with it honourable conduct and zeal for teaching and learning, may give regularity and beauty to language".

Efforts were also made to improve the services of the Church, and in 786 Charles brought singers from Italy to Metz and Soissons, where they taught the Gregorian method of chanting to Frankish clerks.

One important result of this literary energy was to restore Latin, which was deteriorating in Northern Europe into an almost unintelligible jargon, once more to the level of a literary language. The Latin prose and verse of Angilbert or Alcuin is often crude and ungrammatical, but it is an immense improvement on the scanty fragments that we have left from the previous period.

Though the mass of the laymen remained unaffected by this literary revival, and could generally neither read nor write, the standard of the education of the clergy was undoubtedly raised, and never again sank as low as it had done in the seventh and eighth centuries. The monastic schools established at this time went on through the dark century that followed, and though the confusion and contests of the time precluded further progress, the ground won through the efforts of Charles and his literary helpers was never actually lost.

John Scotus Erigena

Only one thinker of the first rank bridges the gulf that separates Alcuin from the renaissance of the eleventh century. John Scotus Erigena was born just at the date of Alcuin's death. He was apparently a native of Ireland, but of the details of his life very little is known. All that is certain is that he came to the Court of Charles the Bald about the year 847 and remained for some years at Paris, where he is said to have presided over the school. Paris was at this time rising into importance as a political and literary centre, partly through its nearness to the great monastery and Church of St. Denis, which was the burial-place of the West Frankish kings.

One of John's earliest tasks was to translate into Latin a Greek treatise supposed to have been written by Dionysius the Areopagite, the St. Denis who was associated in legend with the first preaching of the Gospel in Gaul. Mr. Poole calls John "the last representative of the Greek spirit in the West". His writings, of which the most important is a Philosophical dialogue called *De Divisione Naturæ*, show a speculative mind, bold even to rashness and little disposed to accept the dogmas of authority. His opinions were pronounced heterodox even in his lifetime, and after his death his name became the battle-cry of theological contest. He has been described as the founder of mediæval scholasticism, but it would probably be more correct to regard scholasticism as a reaction from his dangerous speculative activity.

He is said, in later traditions, to have lived on terms of close friendship with Charles the Bald, much as

Alcuin had done with his great predecessor, and to have returned to England after the death of his patron in 877. According to one legend he became head of the school at Malmesbury and was murdered by his scholars. But it is much more likely that he died in France soon after 877.

Hincmar of Rheims, 806-882

Hincmar of Rheims, though primarily an ecclesiastical statesman and administrator, ought perhaps to find a place beside John Scotus in the records of the ninth century. Born in 806, he became a favourite adviser of Louis the Pious, and on his death was taken into favour by Charles the Bald, who appointed him, in 844, as Archbishop of the great See of Rheims. For nearly forty years Hincmar ruled as Primate of the Church in West Francia, the adviser and friend of a series of Carolingian monarchs, with whom he corresponded on familiar terms. He was jealous in maintaining the rights of his order, and did a good deal to strengthen the position of the Church in West Francia. In the literary world he is chiefly known as the author of two treatises on Predestination, written in connection with a controversy in which he became involved with a monk named Gottschalk, who was supported by the Archbishop of Lyons, the ecclesiastical head of Southern Gaul. John Scotus had already, at Hincmar's request, endeavoured to controvert the heresies of Gottschalk, but, in the opinion of the orthodox, had promulgated more heresies than he disproved. Hincmar died in December, 882, at Epernay, whither he had fled from a Norse attack on Rheims.

CHAPTER XXI

THE CHARLEMAGNE OF ROMANCE

NO account of the reign of Charles the Great would be complete without some notice of the cycle of romance and legend that gathered around the king and his court. In mediæval literature Charlemagne and his paladins rival the fame of King Arthur and his Round Table.

Early legends

Very soon after the death of the Emperor, men began to look back to his reign as a kind of golden age. They said of him, as later ages said of his great successor Barbarossa, that he was not dead, and that he would come forth from his tomb, when the appointed time had come, to restore good order and peace. He was reported to have been buried seated on a chair of state, with his sword Joyeuse laid unsheathed across his knees. Otto III. is said to have opened the tomb at Aachen and to have found the body of the Emperor, still undecayed, grasping a sceptre, with a gold chain round the neck, which the young monarch removed and kept as a relic. But history throws doubt on the story.

The origin of the Charlemagne romances is to be found in the *chansons* of the minstrels of France, who took floating stories of the heroes of Charles' wars and sang their exploits by the camp fires of the western

lands where the Romance language was beginning to develop. Gradually these ballads grew, as fresh material from other sources was added to them. In the eleventh century these *chansons de gestes* were taken in hand by literary men and woven into connected stories. In these stories Charlemagne appears as the great leader of the Christian cause against the Moslems. They centre largely in Charles' Spanish campaign, which becomes a crusade, in which the Christian king and his knights smite the infidel in great contests through years of war. Of these works by far the best known was the *Chanson de Roland*—not the Song of Roland that Taillefer sang as he led the Norman charge at Senlac, but a much longer and more literary production. Here the Emperor appears as ruler of all Europe, served by a band of heroes, of whom Roland and Oliver are the most famous.

Influence of Crusades

In the age of the Crusades this aspect of the Emperor's work grows more prominent. All other parts of the story are subordinated to the crusading idea. Even Widukind and Desiderius, the Saxon and Lombard enemies of Charles, now appear as Saracen leaders, and Charlemagne is described as voyaging to Jerusalem and visiting Constantinople.

The History of Archbishop Turpin, a prose romance, written in the form of a supposed letter from Archbishop Turpin of Rheims to an archdeacon, adds to the story of Roncesvalles a great war between Charlemagne and an African King Argolander. This book was approved by Pope Calixtus in 1122, and was widely popular.

Charles as a French king

Two things are to be noticed about the Charlemagne legends of this period. They all regard Charlemagne as a great French king. It is interesting to notice that

of the three great monarchs of a later time who deliberately set the career of Charles the Great before them as a model—Frederick Barbarossa, St. Louis and Napoleon—two were French. The other point of interest is the strongly ecclesiastical character of the stories. "The peers are hardly knights, but mere fighting monks. Both Charlemagne and his nephew Roland are the favourites of heaven, who receive miraculous gifts and enjoy the intercourse of angels. Strong and fearless, they slay their thousands; but they do not joust for the pleasure of it; they do not crave adventures for the honour to be gained; they want the splendid courtesy of the chevalier, and, above all, have no sense for the service of women. Roland does not spare his lady a thought. At his death, he thinks of God and fatherland, of the emperor and his former conquests, and the men of his line; he bids his sword a tender farewell; but he is undisturbed by any grief for the woman who holds him dear."

In the thirteenth century the Charlemagne stories change their character. It is not now the Crusades, but the struggles between the feudal barons and the kings, that occupy men's thoughts. So Charlemagne becomes a feudal monarch surrounded by his great vassals, who gradually come to fill the foreground as the king recedes. At last he is little more than a shadowy and ineffective figure, capable only of occasional acts of tyranny, while the real heroes of the story are the barons of his court.

Meanwhile the Charlemagne romances found their way to Iceland, where the great *Karlamagnus Saga*

was published in the thirteenth century. Two centuries later this was translated into Danish as the *Kejser Karl Magnus*.

Two final stages follow. The story of Charlemagne passes into Spain, where the Spanish chroniclers, jealous for the honour of their own country, turn Charles' Spanish campaign into a mere marauding expedition, in which the Frankish invaders are driven headlong by the valour of the Spanish leader, Bernard de Carpio. Then the mocking Italian spirit settles on the story, and, in the *Orlando Furioso* of Ariosto, holds up the whole of knight-errantry to ridicule.

Valueless as it is from a historical point of view, all this mass of legendary matter is of interest as showing how great was the impression made on after-ages by the figure of the great Frankish Emperor as he stood armed and consecrated at the opening of that new chapter of world-history that we call the Middle Ages.

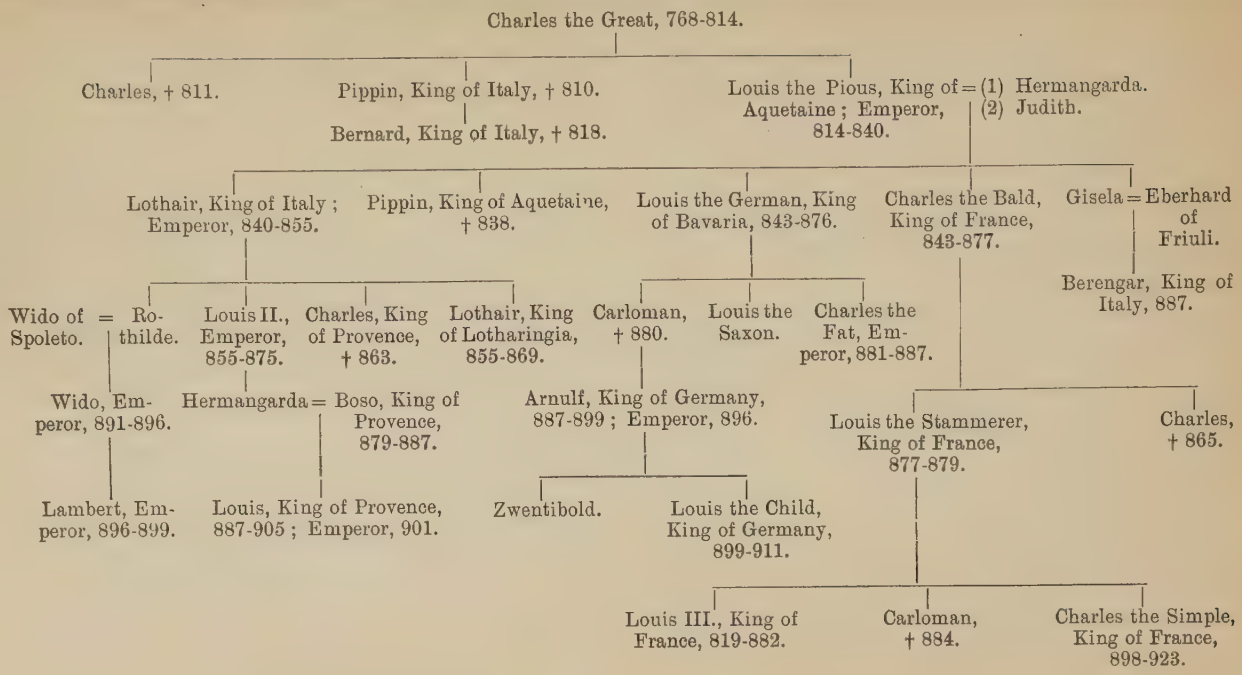
CHAPTER XXII

THE REIGN OF LOUIS THE PIOUS

Louis the Pious, 814-840

THE death of both Charles' elder sons during his lifetime averted, for a time, the partition of his Empire, and his surviving son, Louis the Pious, succeeded without dispute to the throne of his father. Almost the last act of Charles' life had been the nomination of Louis as his successor at a great gathering of the nobles at Aachen. As soon therefore as the news of the Emperor's death reached him in Aquetaine, Louis set out for Aachen, and there celebrated his accession by taking the Imperial crown from the altar of the cathedral and crowning himself as Emperor—an act of independence of which the Pope was likely to disapprove.

Louis had for many years ruled in Aquetaine with almost unchecked authority. Though his court there was reputed in Francia to be "more like a monastery than a court," he had proved himself an effective ruler, and, with the help of the Count of Toulouse, had carried on vigorous war along the Spanish frontier. But while he had acquired the culture and refinement of Southern Gaul—a refinement that earned for him in later times the name of *Louis le Débonnaire*—he had lost much of the virility and self-reliance of the sterner


Charles the Great, 768-814.
Charles, † 811.
Pippin, King of Italy, † 810.
Bernard, King of Italy, † 818.
Louis the Pious, King of Aquetaine; Emperor, 814-840.
(1) Hermangarda.
(2) Judith.
Lothair, King of Italy; Emperor, 840-855.
Pippin, King of Aquetaine, † 838.
Louis the German, King of Bavaria, 843-876.
Charles the Bald, King of France, 843-877.
Gisela = Eberhard of Friuli.
Berengar, King of Italy, 887.
Wido of Spoleto. = Rothilde.
Louis II., Emperor, 855-875.
Charles, King of Provence, † 863.
Lothair, King of Lotharingia, 855-869.
Carloman, † 880.
Louis the Saxon.
Charles the Fat, Emperor, 881-887.
Wido, Emperor, 891-896.
Hermangarda = Boso, King of Provence, 879-887.
Arnulf, King of Germany, 887-899; Emperor, 896.
Louis the Stammerer, King of France, 877-879.
Charles, † 865.
Lambert, Emperor, 896-899.
Louis, King of Provence, 887-905; Emperor, 901.
Zwentibold.
Louis the Child, King of Germany, 899-911.
Louis III., King of France, 819-882.
Carloman, † 884.
Charles the Simple, King of France, 898-923.

northern lands that were the cradle of his race. There was a certain weak obstinacy in his character that was destined, much more than his religious enthusiasm, to prove fatal to his success.

His first work was the reform of the court, which in the later years of his father had grown corrupt and dissolute. He dismissed his father's ministers in favour of those he brought with him from Aquetaine, and sent his sisters into convents. The influence of his new advisers and of his wife Hermengarda was resented by the Frankish nobles, among whom discontent soon began to grow up. This was fostered by the new monarch's ecclesiastical policy. His efforts were directed to the improvement of the lives of the clergy, especially by checking the tendency to secularisation that already began to show itself among the non-monastic clergy. He granted to most of the monasteries of the kingdom the right to hold their lands free of all condition except that they would "pray for the welfare of the Emperor and Empire". This meant that large tracts of lands became immune from the obligation of military service, and the strength of the Empire was proportionally weakened.

When, soon after Louis' accession, Pope Leo died, his successor Stephen was consecrated without the Imperial sanction. Not only did Louis accept this without protest, he also allowed the Pope to visit Rheims and there recrown him as Emperor—thus implying that his previous coronation was irregular, as lacking the sanction of the ecclesiastical authority.

In the following year, 817, an accident that nearly

cost Louis his life gave a morbid turn to his thoughts, and led him, in view of the uncertainty of life, to make provision for the contingency of his death by arranging a partition of the Empire among his three sons, the oldest of whom, Lothair, was now about nineteen years of age. The division followed the lines of Charles' earlier arrangements—Lothair shared with his father the Imperial dignity, ruling the old Frankish lands and the Italian kingdom, while Aquetaine fell to Pippin and Bavaria to the youngest, Louis. The two younger brothers were to recognise their brother's authority and to pay visits of ceremony to him from time to time.

The Partition of Aachen, 817

This partition of Aachen raised one difficult question. Ever since the death of King Pippin his son Bernhard had been ruling in Italy with almost independent authority and with conspicuous success. The young king, seeing in this partition a scheme for ousting him from his inheritance, rose in rebellion. The event that followed was destined to cast a lasting shadow of disgrace and remorse over the reign of Louis. Enticed into negotiation, Bernhard was induced, trusting to an Imperial safe-conduct, to cross the Alps and appear at Châlons-sur-Saône. There he was arrested, sent to Aachen, tried as a rebel and sentenced to death. Louis commuted the sentence to blinding, but the sentence was carried out with such brutality that Bernhard died.

Within a few months of this event Hermengarda died, and her death was regarded by the king as a Divine punishment for his treatment of Bernhard. He sank into a condition of profound melancholy and bitter

remorse, and talked of retiring to expiate his sin in a monastery. To rouse him from this state his ecclesiastics persuaded him to marry again. He selected as his new consort Judith, daughter of Count Welf of Altdorp. Judith was a beautiful, able and ambitious woman, who soon acquired complete mastery over the unstable mind of her husband. In 822 her son Charles the Bald was born, and with him begins the break-up of the Carolingian Empire.

Soon after the birth of his son, Louis, again plunged into melancholy and self-reproach, unwisely recalled the ministers whom he had banished at the beginning of his reign, and set free those who were imprisoned for their share in Bernhard's rising. Not content with thus surrounding himself with implacable enemies, he determined to do public penance at Attigny, near Soissons, for his real and supposed sins. The public self-abasement of the Emperor, who subjected himself to the most humiliating penances, alienated from him the Frankish nobles who had been accustomed to the rough heartiness and masterful rule of his father. The loyalty of the Franks to their sovereign was already undermined when a fatal step let loose the dogs of war and plunged the Empire into fifty years of contest.

Louis and his sons

In 829, when Charles the Bald was seven years old, the Emperor determined to provide him with a kingdom. He therefore announced, at a great council at Worms, that he proposed to make the Duchy of Alemannia into a kingdom for his youngest son.

The Emperor's second marriage had been resented by his sons, and Judith had apparently become unpopular

throughout the Empire. The new scheme therefore drew together all the discontented elements in the realm, and a great rising was organised while Louis was engaged in subduing a rebellion in Brittany. Pippin of Aquetaine marched on Paris and rallied the nobles of Neustria, while Lothair crossed the Alps at the head of a great army of Lombards. Hemmed in at Compiègne, Louis was obliged to surrender and was imprisoned by his sons, while Judith was forced to take the veil at Poictiers. Next spring a great gathering was summoned to Nimuegen, where the Austrasian nobles, loyal still to the Emperor, appeared in such strong force that Lothair was glad to make peace and to appeal for the forgiveness that Louis was only too willing to grant.

But the interval of peace was of short duration. In 832 the war blazed out again, and this time all three brothers joined against their father. Louis' reply was to declare Pippin and Louis deposed, and to add Aquetaine to the lands allotted to Charles the Bald. But while the Emperor gathered forces to enforce this new partition Lothair, who throughout these contests showed himself the most violent and unscrupulous of the brothers, led a great army from Italy, bringing with him Pope Gregory IV., who was completely devoted to his interests. It was on the celebrated Lügenfeld (*Field of lies*) that the armies met. To avert open conflict, Louis agreed to negotiate with his sons, and while the Pope went to and fro in the guise of a mediator, the loyalty of Louis' army was undermined by secret intrigues, so that it rapidly melted away. At last Louis

found himself completely deserted, and with his wife and child was once more compelled to surrender to his sons. Judith was again consigned to conventual life and the Emperor to prison, while little Charles, protected by his youth, was sent to the monastery of Pruym. Louis, cut off from all intelligence about wife or child, was in a pitiable state of misery and helplessness. He was at length dragged from prison before a council of ecclesiastics at Compiègne and there compelled to read a long and humiliating confession of sin and incompetency and submit to public degradation.

Council of Compiègne

But this humiliation produced a reaction. The loyalty of Northern Germany to the son of their great king was aroused by the spectacle, and a great Saxon and Austrasian army marched against Lothair, who was compelled to flee across the Alps, where many of the leaders of the rebellion, who accompanied his army in its flight, fell victims to a pestilence that men regarded as the vengeance of heaven.

Yet Louis' infatuation still persisted. No sooner was peace restored than, at a council at Cremieux, near Lyons, he proposed a new partition, by which Lothair was to be deprived of all his lands except Italy, and the confiscated territories added to the dominions of Charles. War was averted for the moment by a great Danish raid on the Rhine, but when this was passed Louis assembled a council at Aachen, in 837, and there crowned his youngest son as king, not only of the lands already promised to him, but also of some lands that were in the dominions of Louis of Bavaria.

Just at this crisis Pippin of Aquetaine died, and Louis

put the coping-stone to his folly by ignoring the children of the late king and transferring Aquetaine also to Charles. To this the Aquetanians replied by proclaiming Pippin, eldest son of their late king, as ruler of Aquetaine.

In 839 war flared up in every part of the Empire. But now Louis succeeded in buying the support of his eldest son, by promising him all the provinces of the Empire except Neustria and Aquetaine, which he reserved for Charles. With unexpected vigour, the Emperor himself drove young Pippin and Louis out of their dominions. But the campaign was too much for his enfeebled health, and in the summer of 840 he died.

His reign of twenty-five years had been disastrous for the Empire. By his self-abasement he had undermined the respect of the nobles for the Imperial office, while he had encouraged the pretensions of the great ecclesiastics in a way that was dangerous to the welfare of the State. His rather morbid piety and narrow culture were ill-suited to the needs of a rough and iron age. In his personal character he seems a weaker Edward the Confessor; in his struggles with his sons he reminds us of our own Henry II.; while in his alternations of imprisonment and restoration, and in his subservience to a wife fighting for the rights of her son, he resembles the last Lancastrian king, Henry VI.

CHAPTER XXIII

THE BREAK-UP OF THE CAROLINGIAN EMPIRE

THE seventy years that follow the death of Louis the Pious are the most confused, and at first sight the most unprofitable, in all the annals of Europe. The Empire is partitioned and repartitioned, then at last broken into fragments, every one of which seeks to live its own life. No unity seems left in Europe at all except the unity of a common ecclesiastical organisation and the unity of a common danger.

For while these internal rivalries were going on, the Norseman was burning and pillaging along all the northern rivers, and the Saracen was planting the standards of the prophet on the shores of Sicily.

Yet under this confusion Europe was taking the shape that she was destined to retain through all the history that followed. The Romance lands of the west —Neustria and Aquetaine—were gradually drifting farther from the Teutonic lands of the east—Austrasia, Franconia, Saxony—and between grew up the debatable lands—Burgundy and Lotharingia—which, under their later names of Savoy, Franche-Comté, Alsace, Lorraine, Belgium, have ever since been the battle-ground of the two great peoples.

Lothair, 840-855

The death of Louis left Lothair undisputed emperor,

but his authority was scarcely recognised in the outlying kingdoms of Aquetaine, Neustria and Bavaria. Only through war could he hope to put down the practical independence of his brothers.

The first result of his accession was that Louis of Bavaria—Louis the German as he came to be called—made common cause with Charles the Bald of Neustria, while Lothair called young Pippin and his Aquetanian army to his help. The two forces met at the great battle of Fontenay, and there the Austrasian nobles who followed the Emperor's standard perished, as the Scottish nobles perished at Flodden Field. Louis and Charles won a decisive victory—a victory that shattered for ever the supremacy of Austrasia and left the eastern and western parts of the Empire free to fall apart. In the following spring the two kings renewed their alliance at Strasburg, where the famous "oath of Strasburg" was taken, by Charles in the "teudisca lingua," and by Louis in the "romana lingua"—the first beginnings of the languages that we now call German and French—in order that both armies might understand the terms of alliance. The two brothers then marched straight on Aachen, whence Lothair fled to Lyons. At length Lothair consented to treat with his brothers, and the Partition of Verdun finally severed into independent kingdoms the Empire that Charles had founded. This treaty was a decisive indication that the destiny of the Franks was fulfilled. They had served as a link between the Romanised lands of the west and the Saxons and Bavarians of the east. But now the link had been broken; east and west went each its own way; and

Partition of Verdun, 843

Lothair was left with an ill-compacted strip of territory, reaching from his northern capital at Aachen to his southern capital at Rome. Though he retained the

name of emperor, the title was practically meaningless, and meaningless it remained till the great Otho I. raised it from the dust a hundred years later and made

it once more the symbol of authority in Church and State.

For ten years (843-853) peace was kept between the three brothers. Each had enough to do in defending his frontiers against the ceaseless ravages of the Norsemen, who now poured as a devouring host over Northern Europe. But in 853 a fresh war began between Charles and the people of Aquetaine, aided by his brother Louis. Little fighting actually took place, and Louis soon returned to his own kingdom. In the following year Lothair died, and his three sons, after the approved fashion, divided their father's kingdom, Louis, the eldest, taking Italy, where he ruled well, while Lothair acquired Austrasia, which derived from him its later name of Lotharingia, and Burgundy was allotted to the youngest, Charles.

At this point we plunge into a confused story, as the family feud broadens with the rise of a new generation. Lothair's three sons followed in their uncles' footsteps and quarrelled about their inheritance. Then Louis the German, the ablest of the three sons of Louis the Pious, divided up his territories among his three sons, Carloman, Louis and Charles the Fat. They showed their gratitude by keeping the kingdom in perpetual disturbance for twelve years with constant rebellions.

Charles the Bald

Meanwhile Charles the Bald was dividing his time between schemes for enlarging his dominions at the cost of his nephews and futile efforts to hold back the Viking hosts that were making West Francia almost a desert. In 867 Lothair II., who had just ended a

long struggle of ten years with the Pope by the abandonment of a bigamous union into which he had entered, died, and Louis the German and Charles both fell upon his Lotharingian lands like birds of prey. The result was another partition (870), by which Lotharingia was divided along the line of the Meuse.

The death of the Emperor Louis II., five years later, gave Charles the Bald an opportunity of showing his usual unscrupulous greed. Hurrying into Italy, he induced the Pope to crown him as Emperor. Just at this time Louis the German died, after a reign of sixty years, during which he had done much to develop the national German feeling in his kingdom. He may fairly be called the first king of Germany.

As usual Charles the Bald attempted to seize part of the lands of his brother, but he was completely defeated by Louis of Saxony at Andernach. Soon after, he crossed the Alps on a visit to Italy, and there died, in a hut at the foot of the Mont Cenis pass. He was a cowardly and unprincipled king.

For two years his son Louis the Stammerer strove manfully to make headway against the Viking raiders, and on his death, in 879, his two elder sons succeeded as joint rulers of his kingdom.

In the same year the first breach was made in the Carolingian succession by the successful efforts of Boso, an ambitious Burgundian count, who had married the daughter of the Emperor Louis II., to make himself independent sovereign of the valley of the Rhone.

Within a few years most of the rulers of the Caro-

lingian house died, and the most worthless of them all, Charles the Fat, youngest son of Louis the German, succeeded successively to Italy, Germany and West Francia. But three years of incompetent rule served to undermine whatever loyalty was still felt for the Carolingian dynasty, and West Francia and Germany alike threw off the yoke of the degenerate namesake of the great Emperor, who died in the following year. In Germany Arnulf, Duke of Carinthia, a natural son of Charles' elder brother Carloman, was chosen king, while in West Francia Odo, the heroic defender of Paris, was raised to the vacant throne, and thus, for the time, another breach was made in the continuity of the Carolingian succession. Charles the Simple, the only surviving representative of the West Frankish Carolingians, now a child of eight years old, was sent to England for safety.

Charles the Fat, Emperor

But the deposition of Charles the Fat gave the signal for a further disintegration of the Empire. In the western part of what we now call Switzerland Count Rudolph, a nephew by marriage of Charles the Bald, set up as king of Upper or Cisjurane Burgundy. Northern Italy, which was now divided into the four great Margravates of Ivrea, Friuli, Turin and Tuscany, was left to be fought for between Berengar of Friuli and Wido of Spoleto.

During the thirty years that follow, each of these five kingdoms has an independent history of its own. Of Upper Burgundy nothing need be said, for Rudolph's Italian ambitions lie just outside our period. In Lower Burgundy or Provence Louis succeeded his father, Boso,

in 887, and governed peacefully till he was lured to his doom in Italy twelve years later.

Arnulf, 887-899

In Germany Arnulf made splendid, and partially successful, attempts to restore order. The other kings in Western Europe gave a shadowy recognition to his supremacy, even though he had not received the Imperial crown. In 891 he was able to do an important service to Europe by winning a great victory over the Norsemen at Louvain—a victory that practically ended their raids on the Upper Rhine.

From the western frontier Arnulf then turned to the East, where the Slavs were in rebellion and devastating the frontier lands. To keep these in check Arnulf entered into an alliance with Suatopluk, the Christian Prince of Moravia, to whom he granted the overlordship of Bohemia, and who became sponsor to Arnulf's natural son Zwentibold. But before long ancient enmities reasserted themselves, and Suatopluk rose in rebellion. The incident is of interest chiefly because it brings us for the first time face to face with the Magyars, with whom Arnulf made an alliance against the Moravians. Pressed thus on both frontiers, the Moravian prince was glad to make peace.

Having thus pacified Germany Arnulf passed, in 894, into Italy, to be recalled by an attack made upon his dominions by Odo of West Francia. In 896 he again crossed the Alps, marched upon Rome, out of which he drove the partisans of the Spoletan faction, and was crowned as Emperor by the Pope. But he dared not stay long enough in Italy to establish any effective authority there, and with his withdrawal the

country sank back into sixty years of disturbed independence, till another German king, Otho the Great, came to claim the Imperial crown.

The closing years of Arnulf's reign were troubled by the disloyalty of his son Zwentibold, who had been appointed as Duke of Lotharingia, and whose turbulent misrule there led the nobles of the province to appeal to the West Frankish king for protection. Arnulf was able to drive out the invaders without any actual fighting, but in the following year (899) he died. Zwentibold continued to rule Lotharingia for a year longer, and then died in battle against his rebellious subjects, and Lotharingia passed for a time into the hands of the West Frankish king, who appointed Reginar Long-neck, the leader of the rebels, as duke.

Louis the Child, 899-911

In Germany Arnulf was succeeded by his son Louis the Child, a boy of seven years old, in whose name Otho, Duke of Saxony, and Hatto, Archbishop of Mainz, carried on the government. The whole eastern frontier of Germany was devastated during these years by the Magyars, and internally Germany was divided between the party of Hatto and a body of nobles, of whom Adalbert of Babenburg, Duke of Franconia, was the leader, who took up arms to deliver the realm from the tyranny of ecclesiastics. Adalbert was treacherously seized and executed by Hatto, and Conrad of Rothenburg, nephew of one of Hatto's chief supporters, Rudolf, Bishop of Wurzburg, was made Duke of Franconia. Hatto's treachery caused his name to be execrated in Germany, and hence arose the story of how he burnt the peasants who came to ask him for corn in a time of famine, and

how the rats (or mice) who came out of the burning barn pursued him even into the tower of Bingen in the middle of the Rhine and devoured him.

Conrad of Franconia, 911-918

In 911 the Carolingian line became extinct in Germany by the death of Louis the Child, and the nobles of the kingdom, assembled at Forchheim, elected Conrad of Franconia as king. But the final break in the Carolingian succession meant the practical end of kingship, for a time, in Germany. Under a king who was as one of themselves, with no claims of birth to raise him above his fellow-nobles, the great dukes became in all but name independent sovereigns. Erchanger in Suabia, Arnulf in Bavaria, and Henry, son of Duke Otho, in Saxony, waged war against Conrad without scruple, and though the king gained a transient success now and then he came no nearer to any real assertion of royal authority. After a troubled reign of seven years, he died in 918. His last act was to assemble his councillors and advise them to offer the crown to his great rival, Henry, Duke of Saxony.

The accession of Henry the Fowler opens a new chapter in the history of Germany. The sceptre of German supremacy had now passed finally out of the hands of the Franks into those of the more purely Teutonic people farther east, and when the son of Henry established the Holy Roman Empire in imitation of the work of Charles the Great, Magdeburg, not Aachen, was its northern capital.

West Francia

The reign of Odo in West Francia resembled in some respects that of Conrad in Germany. He was surrounded with nobles whose territories had gradually

become hereditary, some of whom could put into the field as large an army as the king. The first few years of the new reign were exclusively devoted to driving back the Norsemen, but as soon as this task was accomplished the great nobles of the kingdom began to plot against Odo, and brought back Charles the Simple from England that they might set him up as a puppet-king, under whom they might enjoy practical independence. Six years of confused war followed, ending in the death of Odo in 898. His brother Robert made peace with Charles, and in return for the acknowledgment of his royal title received from him the "Duchy of France," a new district carved out of the heart of the kingdom with Paris as its capital.

The origin of the new family that became thus the most powerful in the kingdom is obscure. Robert the Strong first appears as a Count at Angers, carrying on with success the local war with the Norse invaders. He was appointed by Charles the Bald in 861 as defender of Paris, and on his death was succeeded by his son Odo (or Eudes). The great siege of Paris in 885 made Odo famous and secured his election as king on the deposition of Charles the Fat. From this time the Counts of Paris became the most dangerous rivals of the restored Carolingian kings, till, a hundred years later, the death of the last direct Carolingian heir left the throne of West Francia vacant for Hugh of Paris to claim.

But the West Frankish Carolingians were by no means *faineant* kings, as the last of the Merovingians had been. Charles the Simple, though he gained his

nickname from his too trustful attitude towards his great vassals, was a vigorous and ambitious ruler, and though he was compelled to cede the valley of the Lower Seine to the Northmen, he succeeded in acquiring Lotharingia from the German kingdom. After 912 West Francia enjoyed nearly ten years of peace under his rule. After that, civil war broke out again, and though Robert of Paris, the leader of the rebellion, was slain at Soissons, Charles was entrapped the same year by one of his vassals, Herbert of Vermandois, and ended his days in prison at Peronne.

Italy, 889-924

In Italy the ninth century is chiefly notable for the long struggle in the South against the Saracens, which will be told in the next chapter. After the deposition of Charles the Fat two claimants arose to dispute the throne of Italy. One of these was Wido, Duke of Spoleto, who also attempted to secure the throne of West Francia, or at least of Burgundy; the other was Berengar, Margrave of Friuli. Berengar came to an arrangement with his rival by which he agreed to support him in his attempt in Burgundy in return for the renunciation of his claims in Italy. When, however, Wido's candidature for the West Frankish throne failed, he returned to Italy to make war on Berengar, with the support of the Pope and of the Margrave of Tuscany. Berengar had been crowned by the Archbishop of Milan, and the Pope, Stephen V., therefore declined to recognise his claims and crowned Wido, not only as king of Italy but also as Emperor (891). After four years of war Berengar retired to his margravate and Wido obliged the new Pope, Formosus, to crown his son Lambert as

joint-emperor with him. Then, on Berengar's invitation, Arnulf descended into Italy, and appeared in 896 before the walls of Rome. Wido's wife defended the city for some days, then Arnulf stormed the "Leonine City," and was welcomed by Pope Formosus as a de-

liverer from the Spoletan yoke. But ill-health and the pressure of German affairs obliged Arnulf to recross the Alps, and as soon as his back was turned the Spoletan cause revived.

Pope Formosus having died immediately after Arnulf's departure, the anti-German party elected Boniface VII.,

then, on his death fifteen days later, Stephen VI. Stephen had the body of Formosus disinterred, clothed in papal robes and brought to trial before a council of Roman ecclesiastics. Formosus was condemned and his body flung into the Tiber, whence it was rescued and reinterred when a new Pope had reversed the sentence of his predecessor.

The death of Wido and of Lambert brought the Spoletan Empire to an end, and Berengar now became undisputed master of Northern Italy, while in Rome a series of phantom Popes rose and fell as one or another faction prevailed. A year later (901) the enemies of Berengar found a new candidate for the Empire in Louis of Provence, who reached Rome and was there crowned by the Pope. Berengar chased him out of Italy, but in 905 he returned and won some successes, only to be finally captured and blinded by Berengar. Louis l'Aveugle, as he was now called, returned to Provence, and for a few years Berengar ruled unchallenged. In 915 Pope John X. secured his help against the Saracens by offering him the Imperial crown. He did good service in rooting out the Saracen colony on the Garigliano, and ruled with reasonable success till the last year of his life, when Rudolph of Upper Burgundy conceived the idea of securing for himself Italy and the Imperial crown. While besieged in Verona, in 924, Berengar was slain by some of his own followers.

Through all these contests the Margrave of Tuscany played the part of kingmaker, led by his imperious wife Bertha, daughter of King Lothair. While alternately setting up and deserting emperors, Adalbert of Tuscany

also aspired to control the Papacy, which was rapidly sinking into an abyss of degradation unparalleled in its history. Altogether the year 918 shows us the two

great institutions that had led the advance of Europe a hundred years before—the Empire and the Papacy—at the lowest condition of impotence and discredit. Nearly half a century was to pass before they began to be lifted up again by a new intervention from the north.

CHAPTER XXIV

THE NORSEMEN, THE SARACENS AND THE MAGYARS

WHILE the struggles among the descendants of Charles the Great were helping on the disintegration of his Empire, the whole fabric of civilisation in Western Europe was shaken by attacks from north, south and east. From the north came the Norsemen, ravaging and plundering along every river valley up which their long ships could sail; from the south came the Saracens, the pirates of the Mediterranean, to challenge the control of the Byzantine Empire over the lands in Southern Italy that still remained in its possession; and towards the end of the ninth century a foe more fierce and implacable still appeared on the eastern frontier in the Magyars or Hungarians.

The Norsemen

At what period Scandinavia became peopled by men of Teutonic race we do not know. But we know that at the time when other Teutonic tribes were moving south, a hardy race of the same stock was wresting a precarious livelihood from the fiords and forests of Norway, Sweden and Denmark. Until the end of the eighth century the life of these village communities went on with little change; after that the growth of population and the rise of larger political groups drove the more adventurous spirits to a life of piracy. From

the *vics* or fiords from which they came, these daring seamen were known as Vikings. Their earliest raids were made on England and Ireland at the end of the eighth century. Their first attack on the Empire of Charles was in 799, when they raided Aquetaine. But, having once discovered the wealth and weakness of the Empire, their attacks grew more and more frequent. During the reign of Louis the Pious they ravaged the coast of Frisia, and in 835 sacked and burnt the great city of Utrecht. In the following year Antwerp shared the same fate, and in 837 they penetrated up the Rhine as far as Nimuegen.

Attacks on Ireland

But Ireland suffered more severely at this period. With its tribal system, which prevented effective resistance, and its rich monasteries lying undefended near the coast, it offered a tempting prey to the Norwegian adventurers who poured across the seas to plunder and ravage. Ultimately a number of Norse towns grew up along the shore, from which the Vikings carried on constant war with the native Irish.

England

In England Danish raids were driven off for a time, and it was not till 850 that "the heathen army" wintered for the first time in the Isle of Thanet. After that year England had no rest from their attacks.

Francia

Excepting Ireland, where the Northmen almost destroyed the civilisation of the country, no part of Europe suffered more than West Francia and Aquetaine —the two provinces that make up modern France. Easily navigable rivers like the Seine and the Loire carried the ships of the Vikings into the heart of the country, where undefended cities and monasteries

afforded rich plunder. Long before any considerable armed force could be got together to oppose them, they had done their work of destruction and were away with their spoil.

In 841 they sailed up the Seine and burnt Rouen; a little later they destroyed Nantes, on the Loire. The internal dissensions of the Carolingians served the purpose of the Vikings, who were actually invited into Aquetaine by young Pippin as auxiliaries in his war with Charles the Bald. In 845 they even plundered Paris under the eyes of the king, who was encamped on the heights of Montmartre. Charles the Bald adopted the cowardly expedient of buying them off from time to time—a plan that only gave temporary relief at the cost of greater injury afterwards. In 847 Bordeaux, the greatest city of Aquetaine, was betrayed into the hands of the Vikings and became a tributary city under a Norse chieftain, Jarl Oscar.

It would be impossible to enumerate all the districts harried and towns sacked by the Northmen during this period. Sir Francis Palgrave gives some idea of the extent of their ravages: "Take the map and cover with vermilion the provinces, districts and shores which the Northmen visited, as a record of each invasion, the colouring will have to be repeated more than ninety times successively before you arrive at the conclusion of the dynasty of Charles the Great. Furthermore, mark by the usual symbol of war, two crossed swords, the localities where battles were fought by the pirates, where they were defeated or triumphant, or where they

pillaged, burned, or destroyed, and the valleys and the banks of the Elbe, Rhine and Moselle, Scheldt, Meuse, Somme and Seine, Loire, Garonne and Adour, and all the coasts and coast lands between estuary and estuary, all the countries between river and streams, will appear bristling as with *chevaux de frise.*"

Scandinavia from 850

About the middle of the ninth century a new chapter opens in the history of Scandinavia. In Denmark, Norway and Sweden the local independence of tribal chiefs was overthrown by adventurers who succeeded in establishing themselves as kings of the whole country. Gorm the Old became king of Denmark, and Eric of Sweden, while Harald Harfagr won for himself the throne of Norway.

The loss of local independence, and the increasing burden of taxation involved in a more settled system of government, led to a change in the character of the Northmen's inroads. Hitherto they had come to plunder and depart, only establishing at the mouth of the rivers forts to which they could retire with their plunder; but now they began to migrate southwards and westwards as permanent settlers, as the other Teutonic peoples had done centuries before.

Norse settlements

Within a short time they had established themselves in the whole of Northern and Eastern England, and their title was recognised by the Peace of Wedmore in 878. They also founded a Norse kingdom in the Orkneys and Shetlands, under the nominal suzerainty of Norway, and planted colonies along the western coast of Scotland. At the end of the ninth century they reached

Iceland, then almost an uninhabited country, and there they settled in little communities, far from the disturbances of European contest.

At about the same time a Swedish chief Ruric accepted an invitation from the Slavonic inhabitants of Russia to come and rule them, and a dynasty of Swedish princes began in Russia. Early in the tenth century the Byzantine emperors also invited some of these sturdy warriors to Constantinople, where they formed the Varangian guard, the Imperial bodyguard among whose privileges was that of plundering the palace on the death of the emperor.

While the Vikings were occupied with the conquest of Northern England, the coasts of France and Germany enjoyed a brief respite, but after 880 the attacks of the Northmen were renewed with redoubled vigour. In that year a great battle was fought near Hamburg, which ended in a disastrous defeat of the Frankish and Saxon army by the invaders. At the same time another detachment of the enemy established itself at the mouth of the Scheldt. Next year they were attacked by the West Frankish king, Louis III., who won the only important victory ever won over the Northmen on Neustrian soil, at Saucourt. The winter of 881 was spent in harrying all the cities of Austrasia, including the great city of Aachen itself, which they plundered and partially destroyed. In the spring, Charles the Fat gathered a great army and marched against the invaders, but when face to face with them he made a treaty by which they were allowed to withdraw unmolested with their plunder and occupy a district at the mouth of the

Rhine, on condition that their leader did homage and was baptised. Four years later he was treacherously murdered by Charles' orders and his followers dispersed.

The siege of Paris, 885, 886

From the Rhine the centre of Norse activity shifted to the Seine, where already, in 861, Charles the Bald had appointed Robert the Strong as count of a new march which included Paris and the neighbouring district. Fifteen years later the half-mythical hero Rollo the Ganger first appeared in West Francia, and in 885 the Northmen laid siege to Paris, which was defended successfully by Odo, son of old Robert the Strong, and Gozelin the bishop. Forty thousand Vikings are said to have beset the city for nearly a year. At length Charles appeared at the head of a great army, but only to make terms with the enemy, to whom he offered a bribe of 700 lb. of silver and the right to plunder Burgundy, which had repudiated his authority and set up Boso as king. It was this disgraceful treaty that led to the fall of Charles the Fat and the election of Odo in his stead.

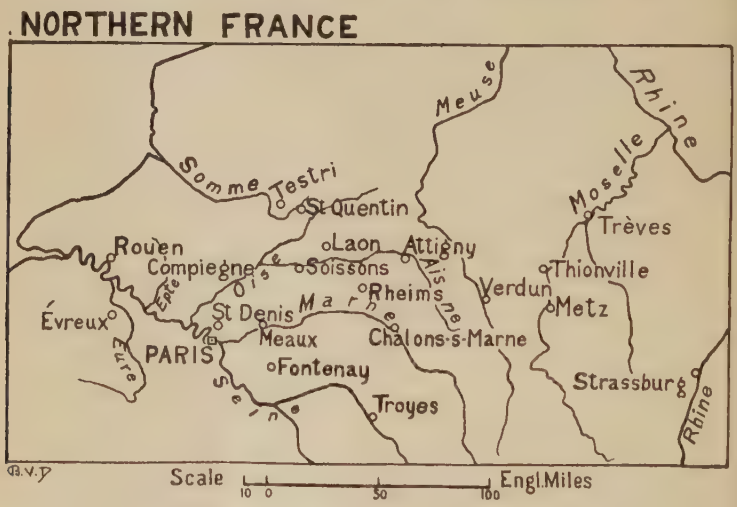
Foundation of Normandy, 911

After this the Northmen seem to have concentrated their efforts on the task of making themselves completely masters of the valley of the Seine almost up to the very gates of Paris. At last, in 911, Charles the Simple, following the policy of Alfred in England, granted to the Viking chief Rollo all the land from the sea to the river Epte, with the hand of his daughter Gisela, on condition of his accepting baptism and doing homage—the latter requirement being fulfilled by deputy. The Norman chroniclers of a later time record how the soldier chosen to kiss the foot of the king in token of vassalage per-

formed his task so rudely that he overturned the royal seat backward. The story of the settlement of Normandy, after the Treaty of Clair-sur-Epte, belongs to the period treated in the next volume.

The Saracens in Sicily

While Northern Europe was devastated by the raids of the Northmen the lands of the south were passing



under the sway of the Moslem power. The Saracens were invited into Sicily by a Sicilian governor Euphemius, who was in rebellion against the Emperor Michael. When his rising was put down, he fled to North Africa, whence he returned with a vast horde of Arabian and Moorish followers of the prophet, who, under their fierce leader Ased, after sweeping away the Imperial army, marched to besiege Syracuse. Disease then broke out in their ranks, and a fresh army from

Constantinople drove them back. For a moment the prospects of the Imperial cause revived, but a fresh force of Africans seized Palermo, while another party relieved the original force and defeated the Imperial army.

The Emperor, involved in war in the East, was unable to do much for the province of Sicily, and though the Byzantine generals stubbornly contested the Moslem advance, they were gradually driven into the south-eastern corner of the island. The conquerors then prepared to carry their arms across to the mainland, whither Radelchis, one of two rival candidates for the Duchy of Beneventum, invited them in 840. His rival sent to Crete to invite a body of Saracens to come to his aid. For nearly ten years the whole of Southern Italy was devastated by Moslem hordes, who in 846 reached the very walls of Rome, and sacked the churches outside the city.

Victories of Louis II., 867-875

The greatness of the danger brought deliverance. Louis, son of Lothair, who had succeeded his father as Emperor in 844, now put himself at the head of the Italian forces, and with the help of Pope Leo IV. organised a great campaign against the infidels. In 849 an Italian force, under the personal command of the Pope, won a great victory by land and sea at Ostia. In the following year Louis, having settled the dispute between the rival Dukes of Beneventum, began to prepare for a crusade against the Moslems, who had made their capital at Bari. For a long time disunion among his own followers delayed the Emperor's success, but in 867 he began to drive back the invaders, and in 871,

with the help of a Byzantine fleet lent for a time by the Emperor Basil, he captured Bari, the garrison of which he put to the sword.

The capture and imprisonment of the Emperor by the Duke of Beneventum, who seems to have feared that he was growing dangerously powerful, was followed by a new Moslem invasion, which the Emperor, set free by his treacherous host, drove off in August, 872. Louis had already begun to prepare for a campaign for the recovery of Calabria and Sicily when he died, in 875. Of all the later Carolingians, he inherited most of the qualities that had raised the dynasty to greatness, and his premature death was a fatal blow to the kingdom of Italy.

Byzantine intervention, 875

Where the Western Emperor had failed, the Eastern Emperor was destined to succeed. Basil sent a splendid fleet in 875 to recover Southern Italy for the Empire, and within ten years the Saracens were driven completely out of the peninsula. For a time Beneventum fell into the hands of the Byzantine Empire, till Wido of Spoleto recovered it in 894.

But while the Empire was reasserting itself in Southern Italy, Syracuse, the last Christian stronghold in Sicily, was stormed by the Moslems in 878, after nearly a year's siege. By the beginning of the tenth century all Sicily was under Saracen rule.

Farther north the territories of Capua, Naples and Gäeta suffered much from Saracen raids, and for thirty years a Saracen colony occupied the banks of the Garigliano. It was in vain that successive Popes appealed to the emperors to help them. Moslem raids extended

into Provence and even into Upper Burgundy, while in the Vaud districts Moslems and Magyars met in conflict.

Finally, in 915, Pope John X. gathered all the resources of the Italian peninsula together, summoned the Dukes of Beneventum and Spoleto to his aid, and induced Berengar, by the gift of the Imperial crown, to join him. The allied armies fell upon the colony at the Garigliano and destroyed it.

The coming of the Magyars, 884

The sea had brought the Vikings from the north and the Saracens from Africa. But, as though to complete its record of destruction, the ninth century brought down on inland Europe a foe more savage and ferocious than Viking or Saracen. The Magyars, or Hungarians, first appear on the eastern frontier of the Empire in 884. Five years later, under their chief Arpad, they poured into the district from which their kinsmen the Avars had been driven by Charles the Great a century before. From this basis they carried on a campaign of destruction all along the eastern frontier. Mounted on swift horses, armed with bows, they swept over the country with great rapidity, seldom stopping to besiege a stronghold or risk a battle, but leaving behind them a trail of burning villages and slaughtered people. In 899 they appeared for the first time in Italy, and during the reign of Louis the Child in Germany their raids into Bavaria and Carinthia were incessant and disastrous. Luitpold, Duke of Bavaria, fell in battle against them in 907. Three years later the young king, who took the field against them in person, barely escaped a defeat at their hands. During the reign of Conrad they penetrated

into all parts of the kingdom, carrying their ravages even into West Francia.

In our next chapter we shall see how this disastrous century of ravage and destruction affected the social and political constitution of Western Europe. All the work that Charles the Great had done seemed, for the time, wholly lost. Yet it is probable that if that work had not been done Europe would have sunk back into entire disintegration and barbarism, and Constantinople would have remained the sole surviving refuge of Christianity, culture and the traditions of Imperial Rome.

CHAPTER XXV

THE DARK AGES

THE name "the Dark Ages," which is often applied to the whole of the period covered by this volume, is specially applicable to the ninth century. Yet in the obscure records of the time we can see how the outlines of mediæval Europe are shaping themselves. In place of the union of Western Europe into one Empire, national divisions begin. The middle kingdom dissolves into the independent kingdoms of Boso and Rudolph and the debatable land of Lotharingia, and under Louis III. it seemed as though Italy also might become a kingdom, self-contained and united. In the West the old Latin world absorbs its conquerors, and the very name "Frank" becomes the title of a Romance people, showing little trace of their semi-Teutonic ancestry. The Eastern kingdom, on the other hand, becomes more definitely Teutonic, and finds its strength in the less Romanised Saxons and Bavarians, between whom, though common danger held them together, a deep-seated antagonism existed.

The ninth century in Europe

But these new nations were not organised for common action, and the practical work of defence was left to each local baron in his own district. What was needed was a body of horsemen ready at any moment to ride out

Growth of feudal ideas

in pursuit of Norse or Magyar plunderers. And for the supply of these he naturally turned to the smaller landowners of his *gau*. So there grew up a new relationship between the smaller freeman and the local noble —a relationship expressed in the idea of homage, by which the overlord undertook to defend his vassal and the vassal became the "man" of the overlord. As a result of this, the obligation of military service gradually became attached to the ownership of land; and a new social order based on land grew up in Western Europe.

Meanwhile the poorer people must have suffered incalculably from the raids that destroyed their homes and swept away their harvests. All provision for the future seemed useless, and all attempts at self-improvement were discouraged. The mass of the peasantry in Western Europe sank to the condition of serfs, whose miserable hovels clustered around the castle of the overlord. For the castle is the one architectural creation of the ninth century. Built originally as places of refuge, to which the population could fly when Viking or Magyar appeared, they gradually became strongholds from which some local baron tyrannised over the country-side.

Serfdom

The Church, while gaining in material prosperity, declined in moral influence. Great ecclesiastics were statesmen and often warriors; the age of missionaries and saints was, for the time, over. Though the Slavs of the East were gradually acquiring some civilisation, little missionary work had as yet been done among them. Meanwhile the nobles acquired for their children or followers the titles and revenues of bishoprics and abbeys, so that lay abbots abounded, whose only relation to the

The Church

abbey was a vague duty of defending it and a definite claim on its revenues. But though the monasteries, where laymen often stored their wealth under the protection of the Church, suffered greatly from the attacks of the Northmen, the lamp of learning did not wholly go out even in these troublous times. At some of the great monastic centres, such as Fulda, St. Gall, Old Corbey, Orleans and Rheims, the monastic schools were kept alive, and the beginnings of German literature are to be found in the translations and paraphrases of portions of the Bible provided by the monks of this period.

The Papacy

In the general breakdown of authority in the ninth century, the claims of the Papacy were steadily advancing. The "False Decretals" first appear during this century, and some of the Popes of the time were energetic in maintaining the claims to which these decretals seemed to give their sanction. The most notable of the Popes of the ninth century was Nicolas I. (858-867), who not only humbled King Lothair, but also asserted the supremacy of the Pope over the Archbishops of Ravenna, Cologne, Treves, and even the great Hincmar of Rheims. Nicolas is also associated with the beginning of the schism between the Roman and Byzantine Churches, which grew out of a disputed succession to the patriarchate of Constantinople. One of the candidates, Photius, appealed to the Roman Court, and a long contest ensued, in the course of which the Pope ranged himself on the side of Photius' antagonist, Ignatius. The question was complicated by a dispute about the newly founded Bulgarian Church, which claimed the right to transfer its allegiance from

the Patriarch of Constantinople to the Pope. But behind all immediate causes of dispute lay the larger question of the claim of the Popes to supremacy over the whole Church—a claim that the Byzantine Church declined to admit. For nearly two hundred years the relation between the two Churches remained undetermined, till the final completion of the schism in 1054.

Foundation of Cluny, 911

At the beginning of the tenth century the first step in the direction of Church reform was taken by the establishment, in 911, of the monastery of Cluny, in Burgundy, on land granted by William, Duke of Upper Aquetaine, to Berno, Abbot of Beaume, who was already known as a monastic reformer. The history of how this grain of mustard seed became a great tree belongs to the succeeding century.

In 918 Europe still had nearly a century of strife to face before the forces of order gained a hardly won victory over the dangers of the time, but with the accession of Henry the Fowler in Germany, the foundation of Cluny, and the rise of fortified strongholds along every river valley of Western Europe, the darkest hour was passed and the period of restoration had begun.

CHAPTER XXVI

SOME CHRONICLERS OF THE PERIOD

IT may be well to close this volume by saying something of a few of the chief original authorities on which we depend for our knowledge of the events of the time. For a considerable part of the period we are dependent on a small number of writers, and these not of the first rank; occasionally we are left almost entirely in the dark about important groups of events.

Procopius

Among the chroniclers of the Eastern Empire the only one deserving of specific mention is Procopius. He came from Cæsarea to Constantinople during the reign of Anastasius, and practised for some time as a lawyer. He was advanced by Justinian to various offices of trust, and ultimately became a Senator and Prefect of Constantinople. His earliest important post was that of secretary to Belisarius, whom he accompanied in his Persian, African and Italian wars. On his return to Constantinople in 542 he set to work on the writing of a history of these campaigns. When he had completed these, he wrote a book, *De Ædificiis Justiniani Imperatoris*. A more important work was his *Anecdota*, a gossipy chronicle full of stories of the Court of Justinian. It gives a very unpleasing picture of the Emperor and his court, and is especially bitter

in dealing with Theodora, against whom Procopius seems to have entertained a strong prejudice.

Of his historical works the *De Bello Gothico* is the longest and the most valuable. It is our only source of information for most of the struggle between the Goths and the Empire, and, as the work of a man who was himself in the thick of the contest, it is a record of first-class importance. Gibbon describes Procopius as "the gravest historian of the times," and attaches great value to his work. His book on the buildings of Justinian is full of interest. Though marked by exaggerated laudation of Justinian—a laudation very different from the picture drawn in the *Anecdota*—it gives an accurate account of the buildings that had been erected in all parts of the Empire by the last Emperor who possessed the old Roman passion for building. Incidentally, Procopius gives some useful accounts of the various nations then included in the Empire.

Agathias

The story of the end of the Gothic war and of other events in the later years of Justinian is told by Agathias, a Roman lawyer of Constantinople, who was inspired by the example of Procopius to continue his work. He carries the record down to the year 559. After this time we are dependent on chroniclers of inferior kind for the history of the Eastern Empire.

Liber Pontificalis, etc.

For Papal history our great authority is the *Liber Pontificalis*, which contains lives of all the Popes, from St. Peter to Stephen VI. (891). The lives become much more valuable after the year 600, when they begin to be founded on contemporary records. The book has sometimes, but apparently incorrectly, been regarded as

an official chronicle compiled by order of the Popes. The earlier part is marked by a strong tendency to support the later political claims of the Roman See.

For the relation of the Papacy to Frankish affairs the *Codex Carolinus*, a collection of letters written by the Popes to the Frankish kings, is very valuable. We also have twelve books of letters of Gregory the Great, and a large collection of letters written to successive Popes by Archbishop Boniface.

Paul the Deacon wrote a life of Gregory the Great which provides some useful information about the greatest of the Popes of the period. Of the various lives of the missionary leaders of the Church, the best are the life of Benedict, by Gregory the Great, and that of Columbanus, by Jonas of Bobbio, written about A.D. 650.

Jordanes

For the history of the Goths our chief authority is Jordanes, a monk of the sixth century, who wrote a book, *De Rebus Geticis*, for which he derived the materials from a work of Cassiodorus on *The Origin and Acts of the Goths*. This fact gives to the work of Jordanes a special interest. Cassiodorus was one of the few Roman nobles who threw themselves warmly into Theodoric's idea of uniting Roman and Goth in one political system, and it was probably to further this scheme that the senator collected the traditions of the Gothic people. Jordanes, who was probably of Gothic ancestry, writing his account of the Goths after the fall of the Gothic kingdom, tries to set forth the nobility of the Gothic race, while at the same time celebrating the restoration of the Imperial authority.

Jordanes himself has no claim to be regarded as a

historian. He appears to have been a mere transcriber, and often a bad transcriber, of other men's work. But we are almost entirely dependent on him for our information as to the early history of the Goths.

For the reign of Theodoric the letters and *Variæ* of Cassiodorus are a valuable source of information, and some interesting light is thrown on his policy by the *Panegyric* or Oration addressed to Theodoric by Ennodius, the friend and biographer of Epiphanius, about the year 504 or a little later. A great deal of our information about this period is derived from the *Annals of Ravenna*, which are not themselves extant, but form a source from which several writers derive their facts. Among these the most important is a writer whose work is known as *Anonymous Valesii*, because it was first published by Henry de Valois in the seventeenth century. The fragment covers the whole of the reign of Theodoric, and is said by Dr. Hodgkin to show a decided bias in favour of the Byzantine Empire.

Gregory of Tours

For the sixth century in Northern Europe we are almost wholly dependent on the work of Gregory of Tours. Gregory, who was born in 538, belonged to a noble family of Auvergne, of which diocese his uncle was bishop. In 573 he was appointed Bishop of Tours, where he remained till his death in 594. The position of Tours, just at the meeting-place of the three kingdoms of Austrasia, Neustria and Burgundy, brought it into the thick of the events of the time. It was the darkest hour of Merovingian misrule, before the race of Clovis had sunk to the condition of *fainéant* kings, and through the confusion of the time Gregory had to

steer himself and his diocese as best he could. His history, beginning from the creation, carries the story of the Franks down to nearly the end of his own life. His narrative is artless and often clumsy in style, but it gives a vigorous and living picture of the fierce and strenuous age in which he lived. He has been accused of painting too dark a picture; but at least he writes with intimate personal knowledge.

Fredegarius

Our chief authority for the history of the Franks after the close of Gregory's history is Fredegarius, a chronicler of whose life we know nothing, and whose work is a mere record of events with nothing of the personal interest that attaches to Gregory's narrative. Fredegarius carries the story of the Franks down to 641.

For the reign of Charles the Great and the period immediately before it we have much more information. An unknown writer has continued Fredegarius' chronicle to the year 768, and for the latter part of this period the record has a semi-official character, having been apparently supervised by members of the royal house. Another Frankish chronicle, the *Annales Laurissenses*, covers the period from 741 to 829. There is some reason to believe that Einhard himself supervised the keeping of this chronicle for the latter part of the period. To Einhard we are indebted for the *Life of Charles the Great*, from which we derive most of our information as to the personal life and character of the king. About half a century after the death of Charles a monk of St. Gall collected a number of facts and legends about the Emperor and his court into a narrative which is of doubtful value to the historian, though

a good deal of it may be true. Of later Frankish chroniclers Nithard, who records the contests of Louis the Pious, is the best.

Paul the Deacon

Only one other historical work of the period, Paul the Deacon's *Historia Langobardorum*, deserves specific mention. Paul, who was born near Friuli, in 725, belonged to a noble Lombard family. He was educated at Pavia, and subsequently became a monk at the great Benedictine house of Monte Cassino. We next find him acting as literary adviser to Arichis, Duke of Beneventum, the last of the Lombard dukes to retain his independence. He visited the Court of Charles the Great in 782, but returned to Monte Cassino six years later, and died there at about the end of the century. His history of the Lombards takes the story down to 744, and is the source from which we derive most of our knowledge of the early history of the Lombard people.

Most of the chroniclers mentioned in this chapter will be found in Pertz' great edition of the chroniclers of Germany—the *Monumenta Germaniæ Historica*—or in Migne's *Patrologia*. Some of them are also in Muratori's *Scriptorum Rerum Italicarum*. The Byzantine chroniclers are collected in the *Corpus Scriptorum Historiæ Byzantinæ*, edited by Niebuhr. The best edition of the *Liber Pontificalis* is that of Duchesne, whose Introduction is valuable.

APPENDIX

EMPERORS

(*a*) In the East

Zeno, 474-491.
Anastasius I., 491-518.
Justin I., 518-527.
Justinian, 527-565.
Justin II., 565-578.
Tiberius Constantinus, 578-582.
Maurice, 582-602.
Phocas, 602-610.
Heraclius, 610-641.
Constantinus, 641-668.
Constantine IV. (Pogonatus), 668-685.
Justinian II., 685-695.
Leontius, 695-698.
Tiberius, 698-705.
Justinian II. (restored), 705-711.
Philippicus, 711-713.
Anastasius II., 713-715.
Theodosius III., 715-717.
Leo the Isaurian, 717-741.
Constantine Copronymus, 741-775.
Leo IV. (the Khazar), 775-780.
Constantine VI., 780-797.
Irene, 797-802.
Nicephorus, 802-811.
Stauracius, 811-812.
Michael I., 812-813.
Leo V. (the Armenian), 813-820.
Michael (the Amorian), 820-829.
Theophilus, 829-842.
Michael III. (the Drunkard), 842-867.
Basil the Macedonian, 867-886.
Leo VI., "the Wise," 886-912.
Constantine VII., 912-959.

(*b*) In the West

Charles the Great, 800-814.
Louis the Pious, 814-840.
Lothair, 840-855.
Louis II., 855-875.
Charles the Bald, 875-877.
Charles the Fat, 881-887.
Berengar, Wido } 888-896.
Arnulf, 896-899.
Berengar, Louis of Provence } 899-901.
Berengar, 916-924.

POPES

(*The less important are omitted.*)

Simplicius, 468-483.
Felix III., 483-492.
Gelasius I., 492-498.

Vigilius, 537-555.
Pelagius I., 555-560.
John III., 560-574.
Benedict I., 574-578.
Pelagius II., 578-590.
Gregory I., 590-604.

Gregory II., 715-731.
Gregory III., 731-741.
Zacharias, 741-752.
Stephen II., 752-757.
Paul I., 757-768.

Stephen III., 768-772.
Hadrian I., 772-795.
Leo III., 795-816.
Stephen IV., 816-817.
Paschal I., 817-824.

Leo IV., 847-855.
Benedict III., 855-858.
Nicolas I., 858-867.

Stephen V., 885-891.
Formosus, 891-896.
Bonifacius V., 896.
Stephen VI., 896-897.

John X., 914-928.

INDEX

Aachen, 177, 179-81, 204, 207, 210, 214, 230.
— Partition of, 207.
Abbassides, 136, 161.
Abdurrahman, 109, 110, 161.
Adalbert of Tuscany, 224.
Adoptionism, 169, 194.
Agathias, 242.
Agilulf, King of the Lombards, 71, 83, 91.
Aistulf, King of the Lombards, 124-31.
Alaric, 2, 11.
Alaric II., 28, 42-6.
Albinus, 32.
Alboin, 82.
Alcuin, 175, 191-8.
Alemanni, 42, 45, 71, 114, 154, 208.
Amalaric, 30.
Amalasuentha, 31, 33.
Amblève, 105.
Anastasius, 15, 21, 25, 30, 46, 48, 54.
Aquetaine, 6, 108, 110, 114, 118, 146, 162, 204, 206, 207, 210, 211, 213, 215, 227.
Aquileia, 21.
Arianism, 3, 4, 10, 11 *n.*, 25, 28, 30, 31, 33, 44, 72, 84.
Arles, 110.
Arnulf of Metz, 96.
Arnulf, Emperor, 217-9, 223.
Aspar, 14.
Athalaric, 33.
Attigny, 209.
Augustine, Mission of, 3, 92.
Austrasia, 52, 71, 91, 96, 98, 101, 113.
Avars, 61-3, 74, 165-7.
Avignon, 110, 111.
Avitus, 44.

Bari, 233.
Basil the Macedonian, 143.
Bavaria, 83, 99, 101, 107, 108, 114, 115, 147, 162-5, 207, 213, 235, 237.
Bede, 192.
Belisarius, 34-7, 56, 58.
Benedict of Nursia, 65-70.
Benedict Biscop, 192.
Beneventum, Duchy of, 82, 91, 121, 160, 164, 168, 186, 233, 234.
Berengar of Friuli, 222-5.
Bernhard, King of Italy, 207, 208.
Bobbio, Monastery of, 72.
Boethius, 31, 32.
Boniface, Archbishop, 3, 102, 103, 108, 111, 116, 117, 119, 126.
Bordeaux, 46, 109.
Boso, 216.
Brittany, 44.
Brunhilda, 51, 71, 95, 96.
Bulgarians, 78, 79, 136, 140, 142.
Burgundy, 6, 12, 15, 31, 45, 50-2, 71, 101, 146, 163, 215.
— Cisjurane, 217.
— Transjurane, 216, 218.

Cambrai, 40, 47.
Capitularies, 189, 190.
Carloman I., 113, 115, 129.
Carloman II., 146-8.
Carthage, 12, 29, 57, 79, 85, 105.
Cassiodorus, 27, 33.

Charles the Great, Administration of, 185-90.
— Coronation of, 14, 176-9.
— Donation of, 150-2.
— Legends of, 200-3.
— Personal character of, 145, 146, 180-4.
Charles Martel, 5, 104-12.
Charles the Bald, 198, 208-16, 221, 228.
Charles the Fat, 215, 217, 230.
Charles the Simple, 217, 221, 231.
Chosroes of Persia, 58, 73, 74.
Clair-sur-Epte, Treaty of, 232.
Clodion, 40.
Clotair, 52, 96.
Clotilda, 42.
Clovis, King of the Franks, 3, 29, 40-7, 145.
Cluny, Foundation of, 240.
Colchis, 58.
Cologne, 40, 42, 46, 105, 154, 157.
Columban, 70-2.
Conrad of Franconia, 145, 219, 220.
Consolations of Philosophy, 32.
Constantine, Donation of, 124-6.
Constantine V., "Copronymus," 138-40.
Constantine (son of Irene), 140-2.
Constantine "Pogonatus," 78.
Constantinople, Foundation of, 2, 10, 17.
— Patriarch of, 3, 85, 86, 90, 138, 239, 240.
— Siege of, 78, 134, 135.
Situation of, 14.
— Theodoric in, 17.

Dacia, 8, 10.
Dagobert, 98.
"Decretals, False," 239.
Desiderata, 147, 148.
Desiderius, King of the Lombards, 131, 147-9.

Ebroin, 99, 100.
Egbert of Wessex, 179.
Einhard, 106, 176, 181, 195, 245.
Eresburg, 155, 156.
Eric of Friuli, 166, 167.
Eudo of Aquetaine, 105, 106, 108-10.
Euric, 42.

Fastrada, 167.
Felix of Urgel, 169.
Feudalism, 237.
Fontenay, Battle of, 213.
Formosus, Pope, 222-4.
Frankfort, Council of, 165, 170.
Franks, Rise of, 8, 12, 39.
— Laws of, 5, 49.
— Organisation of, 47-9.
Fredegarius, 245.
Fredegonda, 51, 52, 95.
Frederick, King of the Rugians, 20-2.
Frisia, 101, 102, 105, 106, 154.
Fritzlar, 156.

Garigliano, Saracen settlement on, 234, 235.
Gauls, 49.
Genseric, King of the Vandals, 12, 13.
Gepidæ, 16, 63, 81.
Germanus, 138.
Gerold, 166.
Gesalic, 29.
Goths, Early History of, 10, 11.
Greek fire, 134.
Gregory the Great, 88-92.
Gregory II., 93, 102, 120-2, 139.
Gregory III., 111, 122, 123.
Gregory of Tours, 46, 52, 244.
Grifo, 113, 115.
Grimoald, Mayor of Austrasia, 98, 99, 116.
Grimoald, Duke of Beneventum, 168.
Gundobad, King of the Burgundians, 12, 22, 29, 42, 45, 46.

Hadrian, Pope, 148-60, 163-5, 170.
Haroun-al-Raschid, 142, 180.
Hatto, Bishop, 219.
Henry, Duke of Saxony, 7, 220.
Heraclius, Emperor, 4, 62, 73, 77.
Hermengarda, 206, 207.
Hildegarde, 148, 166, 167.
Hincmar of Rheims, 199.
Hunold, 110, 146, 147.
Huns, 11, 16, 58.

Iceland, 202.
Iconoclastic controversy, 136-44, 170.
Ildibad, 36.
Institutions, Justinian's, 60.
Ireland, 70, 191, 227.
Irene, Empress, 140-2, 171, 179.
Irminsul, 155, 156.

Jerusalem, Captures of, 73, 74, 77.
— Embassy from, 175.
John I., Pope, 30, 33.
John X., Pope, 224, 235.
John Scotus Erigena, 198, 199.
Jordanes, 18, 243.
Judith, 208, 209.
Jumièges, 72, 165.
Justin I., 30, 54.
Justin II., 61, 63, 88.
Justinian I., Buildings of, 58.
— Character of, 54, 55.
— Conquests of, 34, 56-8.
— Laws of, 59, 60.
Justinian II., 78.

Khaled, 76.
"Khalifa," 76.

Laon, 113.
Leo the Great, Pope, 86.
Leo III., Pope, 172-6, 206.
Leo IV., Pope, 233.
Leo the Isaurian, 19, 79, 133-9.
— Edict of, 121-3, 137-9.
Leo IV., 140.
Leo "the Wise," 143.
Leodegar, Bishop of Autun, 99, 100.
Liber Pontificalis, 242.
Libri Carolini, 170.
Liutgarda, 167-175.
Liutprand, King of the Lombards, 108, 111, 120-3.
Lombards, 4, 71, 81-94, 107, 111, 120-32, 147-50.
Lothair I., 207, 209-11.
Lothair II., 215.
Lotharingia, 211, 215, 216, 219, 222.
Lóuis the Pious, 163, 168, 181, 199, 204-11, 227.
Louis II., 216, 233, 234.
Louis "the German," 207, 213-6.
Louis the Child, 219, 220.
Louis l'Aveugle, 217, 224.
Lügenfeld, 209.
Luxeuil, 71, 99.

Magdeburg, 155, 220.
Magyars, 6, 226, 235, 236.
Margraves, 186.
Martin I., 93.
Maurice, 62, 90.
Mayor of the Palace, 95.
Merovingians, Later, 95, 106.
Merowig, 40.
Metz, 50, 51, 96, 98, 197.
Michael the Amorian, 143.
Michael "the Drunkard," 143.
Milman, quoted, 52.
Missi Dominici, 187, 188.
Mohammed, 74-6.
Monasticism, 65.
Monophysites, 15, 137.
Monte Cassino, 66-8, 115, 129, 131.

Narbonne, 109, 111, 118, 180.
Narses, 38, 56, 57.
Neustria, 52, 71, 96, 99, 101, 105, 113.
Nicæa, Council of, 140, 170.
Nicephorus, 142.
Nicolas I., 239.
"Nika" sedition, 55.
Nimuegen, 180, 209, 227.
Norsemen, invasions of, 6, 7, 187, 211, 215, 222, 226.
Northumbria, 92, 101, 191, 192.

Odilo of Bavaria, 114.
Odo of Paris, 217-18, 220, 231.
Odoacer, 12, 20-3.
Offa, 166, 168, 169.
Omar, 77.
Orestes, 12.
Orleans, 50, 51, 239.
Ostmark, 167, 186.
Ostrogoths, 10, 16, 44, 64.
Otho of Saxony, 219.

Paderborn, 156, 174.
Palace School, 193.

Palgrave, Sir F., 228.
Pampeluna, 161.
Pandects, Justinian's, 59.
Papacy, Rise of, 2, 85.
Paris, 42, 47, 50, 51, 98, 99, 105, 175, 209, 228, 231.
Patrimony of St. Peter, 87-9, 170.
Paul, Pope, 131.
Paul the Deacon, 82, 195, 246.
Pavia, 12, 22, 36, 130, 147-50.
Persia, 57, 58, 61, 73, 74, 76.
Peter of Pisa, 195.
Phocas, 62, 90.
Pippin of Landen, 96-8.
Pippin of Heristal, 100, 101, 104, 105.
Pippin, King of the Franks, 5, 113-9, 126-32, 146.
Pippin the Hunchback, 167.
Pippin, King of Italy, 163, 166, 168, 180, 196.
Pippin of Aquetaine, 209, 210.
Pippin II. of Aquetaine, 211, 214, 228.
Plectrudis, 104, 105.
Ponthion, 127.
Procopius, 241.
Provence, 50, 146.

Ratchis, 123, 131.
Ravenna, 22, 26-8, 33, 35, 36, 38, 81, 87, 121, 122, 125, 126, 163, 181.
— Exarch of, 120-2, 129.
Remigius, 42.
Remiremont, 72.
Rheims, 42, 239.
Robert the Strong, 231.
Robert of Paris, 221.
Roland, 162, 187.
Roland, Song of, 201.
Roncesvalles, 162.
Rotharis, King of the Lombards, 84, 93.
Rouen, 228.
Rudolph of Burgundy, 217, 237.
Ruric, 230.

Salian Laws, 49.
Saracens, 6, 7, 77-80, 108-10, 118, 135-7, 161, 187, 211, 224, 226, 232-4.
Saucourt, 230.
Saxons, 53, 102, 105, 106, 114, 118, 154-9.
Scabini, 188.
Septimania, 118, 168.
Serfdom, 6, 48, 133, 238.
Sicily, 143, 170, 232-4.
Slavs, 7, 63, 64, 73, 133, 139, 140, 157, 159, 186, 218, 238.
Soissons, 12, 40, 42, 43, 50, 51, 117, 128, 197, 222.
Spain, 28, 29, 79, 80, 108, 109, 136, 161.
Spoleto, Duchy of, 65, 82, 91, 121, 122, 125, 168, 174, 186, 218.
Stephen II., 124-31, 147, 148.
St. Denis, 112, 198.
St. Gall, 71, 239.
St. Gall, Monk of, 180, 245.
St. Sophia, Church of, 59.
Strasburg, Oath of, 214.
Suabia, 146.
Suatopluk of Moravia, 218.
Susa, 129.
Swanahild, 108, 113.
Syagrius, 12, 42, 43.
Symmachus, 31, 33.

Tacitus, 47.
Tassilo, 114, 118, 147, 162-5.
Teias, 38.
Testri, Battle of, 100.
Theodabad, 34.
Theodelinda, 71, 83, 84, 91.
Theodora, 55.
Theodoric, 4, 16, 38, 45.
Theodoric, son of Triarius, 19, 20.
Tiberius II., 61.
Tolbiac, 42.
Toledo, Council of, 92.
Totila, 36-8, 67.
Toulouse, 109, 204.
Tournai, 40, 145.
Tours, Battle of, 169.
— Monastery of, 175, 194.
Tufa, 21.
Turpin, History of Archbishop, 201.

Utrecht, 102, 227.

Vandals, 11, 13, 29, 31, 44, 57.
Varingians, 230.
Vassalage, 164, 238.
Verden, 158, 159.
Verdun, Partition of, 214.
Verona, 21.
Visigoths, 10, 11, 28, 29, 42, 44, 46, 64, 79, 92.

Waifer, 118, 146.
Wedmore, Peace of, 229.
Wido of Spoleto, 217-22.
Widukind, 157-9.
Willibrord, 101.
Witigis, 34, 35.
Worms, 164, 180, 208.

Yermuk, Battle of, 76.

Zacharias, 116, 123, 126.
Zeno, 14, 15, 19, 20, 25.
Zwentibold, 218, 219.

ABERDEEN: THE UNIVERSITY PRESS

1 0 WIS. B JUN '51

940.1 M39
Masterman, John Howard Bertram
Dawn of mediaeval E><e, 476-918
MT. MARY COLL. ocm03279541
3 8920 99040560 2